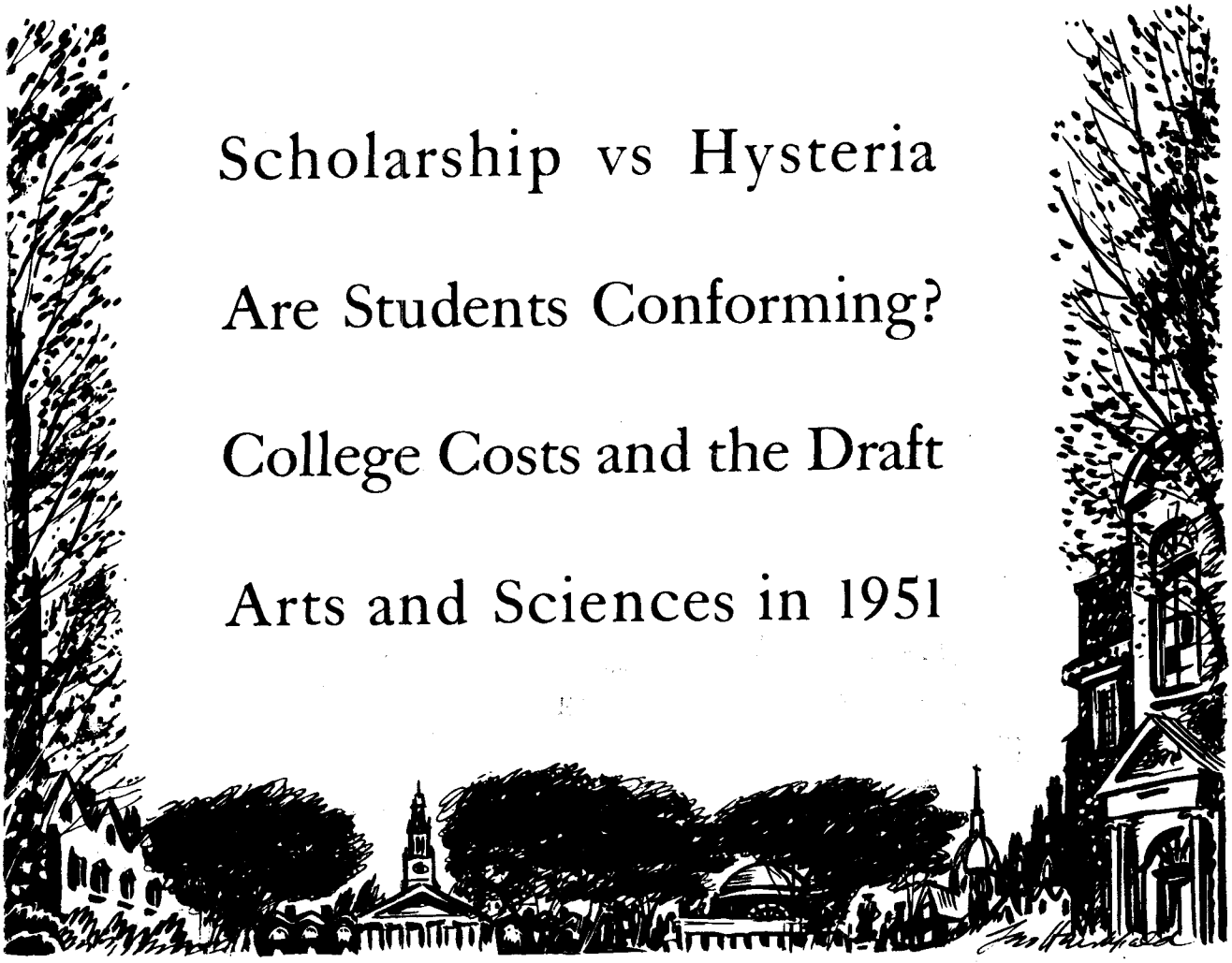
Oc OCTOBER 29, 1951

Stassen, Jessup and Smith — page 5

New Republic

SPECIAL REPORT ON

The Universities



Scholarship vs Hysteria

Are Students Conforming?

College Costs and the Draft

Arts and Sciences in 1951

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Letters

No Soldier-President

● If the rank and file of the American people want peace rather than war, then I would say there would be as much sense in supporting a military man for President as there would be in supporting a bartender to head a temperance organization.

Many fairly thoughtful people are being temporarily misled by the vast amount of expensive propaganda in support of a military man for Chief Executive —a man whose whole training has been for war, not for peace—a man without experience in any of the problems of a free-enterprise economy.

I would not hesitate a minute to support President Truman as opposed to such a candidate. However, I would much prefer Justice William O. Douglas, who personally knows the people of Asia and their vexing problems—a man with the knowledge which would be of the greatest value in solving the world problems which must be solved if democracy and free enterprise are to be preserved.

REX S. ROUDEBUSH

Tacoma, Wash.

For a Right-about-Face

● In Michael Straight's article, "Europe the Battleground" (*NR*, Sept. 24), he says: "There is a deep spiritual hunger in Europe; there is an equal hunger in America plus much bewilderment." He also states that "this task of rearming Europe, of course, is necessary."

The two statements, it seems to me, are irreconcilable. If we sincerely *seek* solutions to the complex problems plaguing mankind in which the little people of this earth will be heard and considered along with the big people, we will find the right solutions. . . .

Is building a chain of steel around the so-called iron-curtain nations believing in peace, or is it not believing in force and violence? In so doing we are in danger of an iron curtain surrounding the entire earth, blotting out all light and hope. . . .

Let us right-about-face, and put an end to this senseless, destructive economy of waste, inflation and ultimate moral and economic bankruptcy.

There are good constructive plans being advocated, such as the Quakers' program; and good men and women are able and willing to serve their fellow men. We must advance to new heights of spiritual and moral consciousness or the tragic fate of every preceding civilization will be ours.

Oakland, Calif. MRS. W. J. LIDDELL

El Popola Chinio

● Since early in 1951, when a large number of your readers applied to me for sample copies of *El Popola Chinio*, the eight-page monthly newspaper published in Esperanto by the Communists in Peking, its list of official distributors has ominously increased to include 16 countries. Soviet Russia is not on the list, presumably because Stalin has forecast that Russian will be the world language. Meanwhile, a file of this journal, from May, 1950 to August, 1951, gives a valuable insight into what the Chinese Communists would have the outside world believe.

Only in the most recent issues have pictures and articles about "traitors" and their mass demonstration trials and executions appeared. True to the Soviet pattern, the "bandit, murderer and US agent" confesses and names his US collaborators.

Fierce, unrelenting hate of the United States never relaxes for a single issue of the journal. So gross is the misrepresentation that its excesses tend to make its propaganda self-defeating. For example, if the US soldiers are such a bunch of "cowards, vicious degenerates, perverts and sex-maniacs," why do they not quickly collapse before the valiant hosts of the Korean People's Army, assisted by Chinese "volunteers"?

Significantly, the UN is completely ignored but for one incidental reference, and that in a long narrative poem in which the US "stole the UN flag" to hide its nefarious purposes. The same poem anticipates that if "the US Fascists" carry through the plans hatched jointly by Truman, Acheson and MacArthur to invade China via Korea and Formosa, the US miners will "bring their dynamite out of the pits" and unite with the rebellious soldiers and protesting housewives to storm the White House and the Pentagon as the Russian workers and soldiers stormed the Winter Palace.

More surely based, we hope, are the advances claimed in teaching the masses to read and write; the development of sport among youth (including volley ball, baseball and basketball—the latter with improvements over the "Fascist US regulations" and with the Soviet visiting team victorious); successes in histologic therapy; the exhibition of excavated relics by the Archeology Department, Peking History Museum; new methods of cultivation and seed preparation in agriculture; increased safety and output in the coal mines; building of new railroads and of dikes to prevent floods; the improvement of women's status; and great advances in health and child-welfare work.

The Stalinist influence preponderates in the huge demonstrations; the prominence given to youth and the "labor heroes"; the taxes paid in grain; the production quotas; the use of Soviet movies (62 million Chinese are said to have seen Soviet movies in 1950) and the proliferation of all sorts of democratic fronts. The Lamas and the monks march in the May Day processions and the Christians protest "US aggression," although elsewhere there are fierce attacks upon the Christian schools and colleges as "narcotic factories" and "imperialist cultural concessions." The theatre and its 350,000 personnel have been given the task of inspiring the faith of the

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Threat to White Supremacy

A little negro girl, working at a five and ten cent store, by saving $2 a week, has built up a balance of $330 over the past few years. The officers of the Mutual Savings Institution reason that if a little negro can do this why can't white people making real salaries save money and become independent? – *From the Austin* (*Tex.*) Statesman.

New School Tie

Stanley Kramer will appease the Navy's "honor" to secure naval co-operation for his film version of the best-selling "The Caine Mutiny." There will be a new title to eliminate the word "Mutiny" and the psychopathic skipper of the minesweeper will not be pictured as an Annapolis grad. – *Erskine Johnson in the New York* World-Telegram and Sun.

O'er the Rockets' Red Glare

In a talk on "Legal Aspects of Space Travel," Oscar Schacter, deputy director of the United Nations Legal Department, said it would have to be determined some day how far upward national sovereignty extended. He remarked that the United Nations "has enough problems in its hands right now [not] to be concerned with interplanetary ones." – *From the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

UNLESS ALL we've heard is wrong, the Communists should want a truce in Korea. This winter should be a lot tougher on them than on us, for they are short of food and clothing. We have been able to mount successful limited offenses at will. Our air power is preponderant. The Communists are obviously debating whether they will accept a truce on a line that will definitely show to the world and to Asia who got licked and who won.

This raises the crucial question of where to place the line. Our military advisers say the old artificial 38th Parallel is "indefensible" because of terrain. On the other hand, the military says there's no advantage for us in going up north to the Manchurian frontier even in the extreme case of enemy collapse. The frontier would be broader there and would take more men to defend. So the line will be somewhere in between.

Exactly where UN forces are located now would make a good line, the military says; still better would be a line a little farther north at the wasp-waist of Korea. This is so narrow that a minimum defense force could hold it.

We were right there, with the five flood lights beating on us, last week when Bob Taft announced his candidacy in the marble and gilt Senate minority caucus room. It was a smooth, slick performance with the last detail thought out, even to the eight big, green desk blotters stuck against the nearest mirror to eliminate disagreeable highlights on the top of the candidate's bald head. We are one of those who have always found Taft agreeable and rather likeable on a first-hand basis (though we confess we have thought of him sometimes more as a character out of fiction—perhaps by Dickens—than a real person). Having said this, we want to set down certain beliefs. A Taft victory would be calamitous in world affairs. Taft represents the first real chance of The Chicago *Tribune's* recapturing America since Harding's day. All the forces of the old isolationism, and of the new "we-can't-afford-it" neutralism, are behind Taft. World events have made America assume inevitable global responsibilities, but Taft and the people who are supporting him would try to turn back the clock. In the next eight months Taft will try to show how internationalist he is, and he will confuse some naïve conservatives, just as did Harding. Man's ability to deceive himself is a source of never-ending fascination. No better commentary on this could be offered than the 32 leading Republicans, including Hughes, Taft, Root, Hoover, Butler and Lowell, who urged in 1920 that the election of Harding would be the surest way to "bring America into an effective league to preserve peace."

When Stassen came to the aid of McCarthy in the fight against Jessup's confirmation, he was incidentally paying off an old debt of gratitude. For McCarthy came to Stassen's aid in the Wisconsin GOP primary election in 1948. Stassen and McCarthy are old buddies. The man they both wanted to beat, curiously enough, was General MacArthur, then making a bid for the Wisconsin delegates with Hearst backing. The McCarthy letter of support, dated March 31, 1948, was a beautiful poison-pen job. It is still a classic of how this sort of thing should be done. While seemingly praising the national hero it emphasized two things, his age and his divorce (intended of course to influence the Catholic voters). The development of the latter theme still excites well-merited admiration among lesser politicians. No, said McCarthy gravely, MacArthur isn't really a native of Wisconsin; why: "Neither his first nor his second marriage or his divorce took place in Wisconsin." Details of the

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marriages are thereupon developed at length—merely to show that MacArthur isn't a Wisconsinite, of course—and it is observed that "neither wife ever resided nor voted in Wisconsin." McCarthy wound up with an appeal for the Stassen delegates, of whom he was one.

Departure of Congress leaves a big publicity vacuum in Washington, with the investigation of the Bureau of Internal Revenue all ready to step in. Cabinet members Snyder and McGrath begin to show signs of jitters. When Judge George H. Moore of St. Louis revealed that McGrath had called him up, apparently to "shush" a grand jury exposure, McGrath called it a "damnable and contemptible lie." Later he voluntarily apologized when a search of his telephone calls showed that he really had called Moore after all. The roots of this situation go back to a circumstance that affects both parties; the 64 district collectors at $10,000 per year are politicians, pure and simple. They should have been put under civil service half a century ago, but neither party wants it. Civil-service employees are barred from outside employment; men like ex-collector James Finnegan in St. Louis are not under civil service and can get rich in other jobs to which their collectors' posts give them advantageous entry. Why do Americans tolerate a situation like this? The answer is that our primitive governmental institutions don't give the voters much real control over the parties. Everybody favors civil-service reform except the handful of people who must say "yes" to put it into effect.

Notes: General MacArthur's charge in Miami of an Administration "plot" to yield Formosa is contradicted by his own testimony before Congress last April that he knew of no plots at all and was just following orders when unjustly removed. . . . Congress didn't balance the budget before departure and deficits are expected to be $6 billion this fiscal year, $20 billion next year and $17 billion the year after. . . . Mark Clark's appointment as ambassador to the Vatican was obviously timed to come too late for an immediate confirmation fight.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

people in the revolution and some 72 of the old operas have been made over to meet this goal.

The 30 years of the Chinese Communist Party have brought great changes in the 5,000-year-old history of the 475 million Chinese. Zamenhof, the inventor of Esperanto, and a pacifist, never dreamed that his brain-child would broadcast such disturbing propaganda.

New York City MARK STARR

In Defense of Hoover

● You recently (*NR*, Sept. 24) printed a letter from one George H. Horne unjustly smearing Herbert Hoover. I am quite aware of your editorial animosity to a man I believe to be one of the greatest, and most maligned, statesmen of the twentieth century.

The implications of that letter are beyond foundation in fact—they are pure smears. Both Fall and Daugherty were convicted and sent to jail while Mr. Hoover was President. The Horne letter implies that every cabinet member should set himself as judge, jury and prosecutor, keeping constantly in touch with every action of his colleagues. The fact is the Republicans cleaned up their own house. Coolidge, for example, appointed Owen Roberts and Democrat Attlee Pomerene as special prosecutors of Fall.

Mr. Horne, I presume, either did not bother to find out, or conveniently forgot the honesty and courage Mr. Hoover exhibited when he made the following speech at the Harding Memorial:

> . . . Warren Harding had a dim realization that he had been betrayed by a few of the men whom he had trusted, by men who he had believed were his devoted friends. It was later proved in the courts of the land that these men had betrayed not alone the friendship and trust of their staunch and loyal friend but they had betrayed their country. That was the tragedy of the life of Warren Harding.
>
> There are disloyalties and there are crimes which shock our sensibilities, which may bring suffering upon those who are touched by their immediate results. But there is no disloyalty and no crime in all the category of human weaknesses which compares with the failure of probity in the conduct of public trust. Monetary loss or even the shock to moral sensibilities is perhaps a passing thing, but the breaking down of the faith of a people in the honesty of their government and in the integrity of their institutions, the lowering of respect for the standards of honor which prevail in high places, are crimes for which punishment can never atone.

I don't think you will print this, but I hope I am wrong. To be quite frank, I have had little evidence that you are interested in the whole truth—and much to indicate your interest in only part of it.

New York City ARTHUR KEMP

The Catholic Church and Secular Affairs

● In attempting to assuage the fears over Catholic unprogressive influence in the life of our democracy, Peter M. Dunne, S.J. (*NR*, Oct. 1), tells us "what Catholics may do in a given community, even with official approval, need not be generalized into a policy of the Church.

To accept his thesis is to deny fundamentals in Catholicism and realities we have been facing here. While "the Canon Law is a vast and complicated code," no "specialist" is needed to understand such of its cardinal tenets as that the Church is considered to be the sole judge and controlling factor in matters of religion, morals, education, marriage and birth control, that in conflicts between civil and secular powers "the jurisdiction of the Church prevails and that of the State is excluded," and that papal authority ranks above that of civil government.

One must be naive to believe that the controversies over federal aid to education, internationalization of Jerusalem, the long-established dividing wall between Church and State, are merely laical spontaneous, sporadic movements unaffected by the dictat and hierarchial pressure as part of a persistent, long-pursued Vatican policy. You cannot disassociate those manifestations from the Church any more than you can divorce clerical power from temporal. They are the two arms of one organism, serving as complementary leverage to each other. They reach out simultaneously wherever and whenever conditions permit, working hand-in-hand for one main objective; you cannot weaken one without weakening the other.

One can sympathize with a group's resentment of a book or play that may give rise to prejudice and discrimination, as a means of its "self-preservation." You cannot, however, apply the latter to a religious minority arrogating to itself the right to impose, through pressure, boycott and other means, the concepts of morality in question is subject to various interpretations.

One would be closer to the truth by stating that, in spite of an avowed Church policy, we have here a multitude of liberal and enlightened Catholics thinking and acting in terms of the community as a whole instead of those of the Church.

It is difficult to escape the feeling that attempts on the part of a Catholic segment at controls of education, cultural and intellectual conveyances are symptoms none too conducive to social ease and complacency.

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

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THE TRIUMPH OF COWARDICE

OF ALL the ugly acts committed by the 82nd Congress, the branding of Philip Jessup as unfit to represent his nation was by all odds the ugliest. McCarthy claims credit for this monument to hypocrisy. But in truth it belongs to Harold Stassen and Alexander Smith.

McCarthy was a spent force in his lying attacks on Jessup when Stassen rushed to his rescue. Stassen's wild charges were exposed as further lies when Smith gave them a final sanctimonious twist.

McCarthy led this trio into battle, attacking Jessup's "affiliation" with six "Communist fronts." His charges were proved to be false. They were proved hypocritical as well as false when other US delegates were considered. Mrs. Roosevelt's name was listed on 10 times more left-wing letterheads than Jessup's, but no one rose to question her loyalty. Dr. Channing Tobias, the Un-American Activities Committee informed the Senators, belonged to 19 Communist fronts. The case against Tobias was overwhelming when compared to that of Jessup. But while Jessup was turned down in a three-week trial, Tobias was cleared in three hours. He marched to the Senate caucus room and dared the committee to turn him down. "I am a leading Protestant," Tobias declared in effect, "and my church is behind me; I am a leading Negro, and 15 million Negroes will take my humiliation as their own." No word was heard then from McCarthy in the marbled halls. Smith hastened to read into the record his admiration for his Negro friends.

No massed votes protected Jessup from McCarthyism. Yet he survived McCarthy's attack. "I know darn well you are loyal," Smith told Jessup. So McCarthy was beaten when Stassen came to his rescue.

In late 1949, or early 1950, Stassen swore, a White House meeting was called on China policy. The State Department first found no record of any such meeting, later traced it back one year to February 5, 1949. Stassen stated under oath that "Senator Vandenberg told me in this conference . . . it was proposed by Secretary Acheson and Dr. Jessup" to end military aid to Chiang Kai-shek. Jessup denied that he was at the conference. Stassen damned him as a liar. Stassen's own memory, he swore, was "crystal clear." He added: "Here is something at the very heart of the veracity of Dr. Jessup." But it was Stassen, not Jessup, who lied.

Stassen then insisted that Jessup saw Acheson before this meeting and supported his policy. Again Jessup proved Stassen testified falsely. Then, said Stassen, Jessup supported the China policy in talks with the Asian expert Dean Rusk. On the contrary, Jessup showed that in February, 1949, Rusk was in charge of UN affairs and it was to discuss the UN that they met.

Stassen shifted his ground. Jessup, he swore, had led a round-table discussion in October, 1949, in which a group sympathetic to Communist China had developed a ten-point program which the State Department then adopted as its own. The transcript, he swore, would support him.

The State Department produced the transcript. It showed that Jessup had played no part in the discussions, that State Department officials had taken a firm policy against the Chinese Communists, that recognition of Communist China had been endorsed by a group of businessmen and bankers at the conference and that Stassen himself had proposed only that recognition be delayed. No ten-point program was developed at the conference. Stassen's account was a fake.

Stassen shifted his ground. Jessup, he swore, had favored recognition of Communist China. Had this been true, Jessup would have been one of a large number of distinguished international lawyers favoring recognition. But neither Jessup nor any high State Department official favored recognition, as the records proved.

Stassen shifted his ground. Jessup, he charged, had participated in a "pattern" that led to the destruction of the Chinese Nationalists and that now was being extended to Nehru. This charge was based on Jessup's pessimistic reports on India and the delays in sending grain to India. Jessup's reports were accurate. The delay in sending grain was caused primarily by hostile Republican sentiment in Congress. Stassen knew this well. This charge cannot be excused as a reckless slander. It was a deliberate falsehood, a lie.

With Stassen's charges shattered, Smith took up the fight. He produced a letter from Jessup which, he claimed, supported recognition of the Chinese Communists. The letter in fact stated that "without reference to the case of China" non-recognition as a general policy had been proved unworkable. But Smith clung to his

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falsehood; Jessup, he said, should be punished as the symbol of a policy which had failed.

Lost behind this web of falsehoods lay the truth. In January, 1949, the Chinese Nationalists were a beaten force. Their highest leaders believed that they could last on Formosa no more than a few months. They were the best source of weapons for the Chinese Reds.

Under these circumstances, Maj. Gen. David Barr, the senior US military representative to China, recommended that military aid to Chiang be held up. General Wedemeyer, hardly a Communist sympathizer, concurred in Barr's recommendation. James Forrestal, hardly a fellow-traveler, presented it to the White House conference. There Barr's recommendation was rejected on the motion of Senator Vandenberg, who proved to be right. Much later, in June, 1949, Jessup, together with Dr. Raymond Fosdick and President Everett Case of Colgate University, was appointed to review our Asian policy. By then China was lost. Whether our China policy was right or wrong, it was not of Jessup's making.

Senator Smith voted to stop Jessup going to the UN Assembly in Paris because he disliked our past policy in China. His vote was in accordance with the letter of our Constitution, and in violation of its spirit. Technically, the Constitution empowers the Senate to reject a man for a diplomatic post if it dislikes the color of his eyes. But by tradition, the Senate, in judging a man's qualifications for a given diplomatic task, confines its considerations to those germane to the problems the man faces. Efficient government is impossible if the Senate condemns a man as unfit for a given task on the basis of an irrelevant issue in which he played no part.

China is not on the agenda of the coming UN Assembly. If it should come up, Senator Smith has expressed his satisfaction that Jessup's position will be sound. Yet, though Jessup's fitness to speak for the US at Paris is not questioned, his right to speak there is denied.

So Smith, Stassen and McCarthy joined hands and won.

Five Senators served on the committee that branded Jessup. Of the Democrats, John Sparkman and William Fulbright stood out for decency. Guy Gillette, at the first murmur from the Chicago *Tribune*, turned tail and ran. The little mind of Sen. Owen Brewster was closed before the hearings started; Smith, he admits, lost a little sleep. For Brewster one can feel only nausea; for Gillette, only contempt. They are cheap politicians. The cowardice of Smith is a matter more grave. If a gangster acts like a gangster, a guttersnipe like a guttersnipe, a demagogue like a demagogue, that in itself is not disconcerting. But when Stassen, president of the University of Pennsylvania, swears to outrageous falsehoods, and Smith, one-time professor of Political Science at Princeton, sustains these falsehoods concerning a lifelong friend, men of good will should be frightened for the future of America.

No evidence was produced against Jessup. Yet he was tried by the US Senate. No case was made against Jessup. Yet the Senate punished him. The conscience of this nation was stifled, so McCarthyism robs the US of a brilliant spokesman. Jessup has suffered irreparably, but he is not the loser. His conscience is clear. Stassen has little to lose. His conscience is padlocked in Republican Party vaults. What of Smith, whose conscience, if he finds it, should trouble him for the rest of his days? Is party advantage worth the loss of individual integrity? Thanks to Smith's surrender, a still, small voice should tell him, October 18 was one of those days, in growing number on which truth weeps in loneliness and justice hangs its head.

THE WEEK

TRUMAN AND THE VATICAN

In appointing Gen. Mark Clark to be Ambassador to the Vatican, President Truman has followed a pattern painfully familiar in his public career: he has made a lot of trouble for himself needlessly, in that any benefits to be expected from the move could have been achieved just as well in another way, without challenging anybody.

American Protestants are up in arms against the move, declaring that it violates the historic principle of separation of church and state. The charge is being made that the President is playing internal politics, trying to strengthen himself with the American Catholics, possibly in expectation of appointing a new chairman of the Democratic National Committee who, in contravention of the practice of recent decades, may be of another faith. There is talk of requiring all Catholic officials in this country to register as foreign agents. Finally, the appointment of General Clark contravenes an 1870 law that forbids any Army officer to hold a civilian post. Congress, which in the jam of its closing hours failed to confirm Clark's nomination, also failed to circumvent this law as had been requested.

It is hard to believe that the President's closest advisers can have welcomed his action. For many years, the United States had a representative at Vatican City, a personal spokesman for the President, and a renewal of this arrangement would have been accepted with little re-

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sistance. Such a personal representative could have done everything useful that an ambassador can do; it is absurd to suppose that we need to press the Vatican to be anti-Communist, or to give us information valuable in the Cold War. All Americans outside the Catholic faith have been deeply and increasingly troubled by the ambivalent position of that church in both spiritual and temporal affairs in this country. The President's action is sure to increase this feeling, at a time when national unity is more than ever important.

WHO STEALS THE COMMON . . .

A Senate subcommittee studying ethical standards in government has placed the blame for the recent "growth of influence peddling" not only on a handful of government officials but also on members of Congress, big-business interests, and "the moral standards of the country. . . . Low standards in the conduct of public affairs are a symptom of low standards in the country generally."

The 89-page report of the subcommittee, headed by Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), was written after over 100 recommendations to set up a strict code of conduct in Washington had been suggested by many outstanding citizens who testified before the group. The committee points out that there is a tolerance in American life for "unscrupulous methods which bring immediate rewards" and that the forces which would drive public servants "from the straight and narrow path of virtue" center chiefly in the area in which there are "big economic stakes, where the decisions of legislators and administrators directly affect the business, or the property, or the income of particular groups or individuals." Morality, the committee declares, is violated not merely by politicians and by the weak, but also frequently by the strong and powerful, who sometimes are able to have their antisocial acts approved by legislation or court action. The committee aptly remarks that "the medieval English quatrain about the way in which the common lands were enclosed and taken over by the nobility of England has also real meaning for our times."

The law locks up both man and woman
Who steals the goose from off the common,
But lets the greater felon loose
Who steals the common from the goose.

The RFC investigation demonstrated the challenge to the integrity of government through the acceptance by public officials of gifts, favors and lucrative employment from persons or businesses which seek favorable decisions from federal agencies. The Kefauver crime investigation brought out the penetration of organized crime into the American system of government through its control of American politics at the grass roots.

Investigations of the US Maritime Commission have brought out the dangers which are inherent in a policy of discretionary subsidies handled by a regulatory commission ("particularly by an agency which has for its sole clientele the industry which receives the subsidies"). Other investigations of lobbyists and of internal-revenue collectors, the committee declares, show that Congress itself has been "unduly complacent" in failing to "tighten its discipline in moral matters or to raise its ethical standard."

Senator Douglas and his committee recommend that Congress establish a Commission on Ethics in Government, that the Administrative Procedure Act be amended to include summary dismissal grounds for employees who accept gifts, transact personal business, or divulge information to unauthorized persons, that high-salaried federal officials be required to declare outside income in line with the recent proposal made by President Truman and that Congress makes a thorough study of proposed changes in criminal laws to tighten them with reference to the giving or taking of bribes.

THE STAKE IN EGYPT

In Egypt—as in Iran—British power has been challenged. But the struggle over the Suez and the Sudan presents a much clearer choice of alternatives to the Western observer. In Iran the British had exploited with the aid of political puppets, and it was hoped that a house cleaning would make her a better risk for Western aid and alliance. Egypt presents no issue of economic exploitation, and no hope that a more self-confident nationalism would result in pro-Western policies.

A strong argument can be made for the idea that a canal vital for world communication is under present international law and custom much more liable to international control than are a country's oil resources. But, from the Western point of view, the crucial consideration is the irresponsibility and hostility shown by the actions of the Egyptian government.

Egyptian ambitions are almost totally centered on getting other Arab countries to accept her as their leader in an obvious campaign against Israel, and less directly pointed against the West. There are many reasons why the United States should not allow this project to come to fruition.

For one thing, the Egyptians are militarily useless to the West, since their armies are impotent. Politically, present Egyptian policies show no hope of being compatible with Western hopes for economic and social strengthening in the area. Ideologically, Islam extremism has for a long time had headquarters in Cairo, and shows no sign of losing its hold.

Whatever hopes there may be for bringing more reasonable Egyptians to leadership will not be furthered by giving in to the present set of Egyptian blusters and threats.

Notwithstanding King Farouk's healthy appearance, Egypt today is in much the position that Turkey was in 30 years ago. She needs domestic reform and a gradual deflating of her religious and other fanatic elements. The West should extend her help to advance toward these goals and a modest share of regional authority. If the Middle East needs a leader—and the Israelis are not alone in denying such a need—Egypt is definitely not it, from the point of view of Western interests. In view of this, it is best to proceed rapidly and drastically to deflate Egyptian ambitions. Western power in the Middle East may be fading, but is still strong enough to determine who shall share in the succession.

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THE NEW TAX BILL

When the time finally came, Congress last week gave birth to an immature $5.7 billion tax increase. President Truman, the father, was not passing out any cigars. He was expecting a vigorous, healthy $10 billion.

The principle of "pay-as-you-go" has been enunciated by practically every major group in America. Few deny that a huge government deficit is loaded with inflationary dangers. But this widespread conviction is not backed up with the courage necessary to carry it out.

The tax bill originally passed by the House of Representatives last June would have raised $7.2 billion in the next year. While this was short of the Administration's stated goal of $10 billion, it was a fairly good bill. The increases in individual income taxes were based on ability to pay. Corporate taxes and capital-gains rates were increased in line with increases for individuals. And the withholding principle was applied to dividends and corporate bond interest to close one of the most glaring loopholes in our tax system.

But the Senate proceeded to eliminate the increase in capital-gains rates, give a better break to the wealthy on income-tax rates, erase the House provision for withholding on dividends, write in numerous escape provisions on the excess-profits tax, and further open up the percentage-depletion and other loopholes so that more could enjoy special tax benefits: All this amounted to a loss of $1.7 billion in revenue.

Efforts of some 15 Fair Deal Senators to improve the Senate bill, led by Senators Humphrey (D, Minn.), Lehman (D-Lib., N. Y.) and Douglas (D, Ill.), were completely fruitless. As a result, the Fair Dealers voted against the Senate bill along with such reactionaries as Jenner (R, Ind.) and Malone (R, Nev.) to create one of the strangest coalitions of all time.

The House conferees on the bill found themselves in a dilemma. According to reports, the Senate conferees took the attitude that the House should agree to the Senate version of the bill if they wanted any tax legislation at all.

(*Continued on page 25*)

NEW ROLE FOR NON-SKEDS?

Prodded by pointed action by the US Senate and its Small Business Committee, the Civil Aeronautics Board, at the end of this month, will launch a full-blown hearing and investigation of non-scheduled carriers—the first since May, 1946—to obtain essential data concerning "non-sked" operations and assist in determining future civil air policy.

In announcing its planned investigation, the CAB called off a threatened "death edict" order limiting trips of irregular carriers which, if carried out, would probably have made it economically impossible for them to continue operations.

Despite these two healthy actions, the CAB policy, labelled by Sen. John Sparkman's (D, Ala.) Small Business Committee as largely serving the interests of the certificated carriers, appears to remain basically unchanged. The board stated that postponing the trip limitation order does not mean that non-skeds "can conduct operations between any two points other than on an irregular and infrequent basis."

"The irregular carriers," CAB Chairman Donald Nyrop told the *New Republic*, "have never had an opportunity like the present offers and I gave it to them." It is true that this is the first time that the non-skeds will have an opportunity to present a positive program for their $175 million industry before the top air-policy board. However, some of the irregular operators feel that the investigation will be stacked against them as almost exclusive consideration in the past has been given to the "Big Four" and Pan American. Other irregular operators appear hopeful and plan to stake much of their future on the investigation.

On the same day the board announced its investigation, it ordered Air Transport Associates, an Alaska-Seattle non-sked, to cease operations by October 21 for the familiar crime of flying "too frequently and too regularly." They have now received a 30-day "stay." What makes this particularly significant is that the ATA president is Amos Heacock, who was recently re-elected head of the Aircoach Transport Association, the trade organization of the non-skeds. Heacock is the only non-sked official who personally testified in opposition to the confirmation of Nyrop, Under-Secretary of Commerce Delos Rentzel and several other CAB officers.

Chairman Nyrop vociferously denies that a vendetta is being carried on against Heacock, maintaining that ATA is "one of the most willful and flagrant violators of board regulations in the business." CAB member Joseph Adams dissented from the majority action, however, because no formal "cease and desist" order had been issued against ATA and because he could find "no justification for taking the short cut in this case."

ATA is a major freight and passenger line carrying some 90 percent of the food perishables going to Anchorage and 75 percent of those going to Northern Alaska from Seattle. Upon being ordered out of business for flying too much, the carrier cut its operations by 50 percent. The reaction in the territory was instantaneous. Hundreds of letters poured into Washington in protest. Nyrop charged that the cut in operations was made by Heacock "just to embarrass the board."

The ACTC has decided that the ATA's fight is their fight and has voted to throw heavy resources into it. Investigation or no investigation, the ATA fight is the critical one for the non-skeds. They served formal notice of a fight on October 10 when they ran full-page ads in Washington newspapers reprinting an editorial from Anchorage papers entitled: "Stop Eating, Stop Breathing, Stop Living, You Alaskans, By Order of the CAB."

This fight will take place before the board, in Congress and in the courts. Its outcome may go farther toward deciding the role of the non-skeds than the impending CAB investigation.

HARRY CONN

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Outside America

NAZISM RISES AGAIN

At long last a German statesman has admitted publicly that his people bear a burden of guilt. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has announced that the Bonn Government is preparing to negotiate an agreement with Israel to indemnify the Jewish victims of the Hitler regime. It would have been more accurate of course to refer to survivors rather than to victims. And the force of the announcement would have been greater and more convincing if the Chancellor had not, almost in the same breath, suggested that he was also doing the equivalent of negotiating agreements with some of the victimizers.

For Adenauer has gone publicly on record as being sure that "political necessity and political reason" have led the Western Powers finally to "draw a line through the past." And he seems to have interpreted this conviction as sanctioning him to adopt a course of conduct that plainly suggests tacit support for the new *Verband Deutscher Soldaten,* the over-all Association of German Soldiers which already claims one million members—including SS men—and expects soon to have three million.

What "drawing a line through the past" means to the president of the *Soldatenbund,* former Colonel-General Hans Friessner, once commander of an army on the Eastern front, was not clear from his official statements of firm faith in democracy; but it emerged in impromptu answers he gave to foreign correspondents at a press conference in Bonn.

The following are some excerpts from the record of that conference:

I still believe that the campaign against Poland was necessary because we had to protect German minorities, and there was no peaceful way to do it.

We must now, once again, awaken the military spirit among former German soldiers. This should not be confused with militarism. It simply means a desire to defend one's own family, one's country, the freedom of Europe; it is the spirit in which the German soldiers fought on the Eastern front when they protected Germany and Europe against Communism.

If the European army is to be an effective defense weapon against Bolshevism, Germany must share equally in the Supreme Command and in the making of strategic plans.

We want a German state, including the German territories now separated from the Federal Republic.

The world has treated the German veterans like dogs. All of those still in prison must be released.

The men of the Waffen SS proved their worth at the front. They carried out their tasks with idealism, in a spirit of total abnegation; they conducted themselves worthily, and have the right to be honorable members of our association.

The war criminals were treated unjustly. The Nuremburg Court acted under the influence of hatred. . . . Soldiers cannot be judged by the standards of provincial lawyers, or of civilians of any kind.

Presumably the agreement between the Bonn Government and Israel will be negotiated by Dr. Adenauer's foreign service. In forming that service, the Chancellor also seems to have done the equivalent of "drawing a line through the past" and he did not await the Washington Tripartite Declaration to make a beginning. In January of this year, the 252 members of the "new" German diplomatic service included 151 veterans of the old von Ribbentrop regime, 130 of them members of the Nazi Party; and since then the proportion has steadily increased. The head of the personnel branch of the foreign service and two of his principal assistants are former Nazis. Other key officials include men who directed the financing of Nazi propaganda in the United States. Their fitness for the negotiations with Israel is indicated by the fact that several have been accused of complicity in the murder of Georges Mandel, done to death not because he was a French statesman or a Socialist but merely because of the fact that he was a Jew.

The negotiations of West German diplomacy which really count on the world scale at this juncture of history are not those with Israel: they are with the East Germans. And the 14-point answer of all the West German parties (except the Communists) to the Grotewohl feelers would be more encouraging to Western European liberals if they did not so strongly imply insincere internal German political maneuvering. For, as the Manchester *Guardian* points out, "There is something of a scramble among the West German political parties to be foremost in championing the East Germans and posing as the protector of their rights."

To American liberals, it may seem that the negotiations between West and East Germany are meaningless, foolish, even dangerous; that the immediate phase of the German problem has been settled by the solution: German units of some sort in a European army. Many Europeans do not agree. Both the Manchester *Guardian* and the Paris *Monde* have recently published editorials with the title, "Arms or Unity?" The issue is not settled. The *Guardian* asserts that if Adenauer accepts and puts into practice the American program:

The prospect of reuniting Germany will be set back by 10, 20 or 30 years. Western Germany, once armed, can have no basis for agreement with its Eastern brother. The rift will become an unbridgeable crevasse. It is a point which cannot lightly be dismissed.

The *Monde* says the real questions are whether "an agreement with the Russians on the unification of Germany would be more profitable to peace than a German rearmament toward and against everyone" and whether the Russians would be willing to pay the price, which would mean the de-Sovietization of East Germany.

Both of West Germany's negotiations —with Israel and with East Germany— are (or imply) real breaks with the past —"drawing a line through the past." Both call for an honesty, a sincerity, a willingness to subordinate Germany to world interests which the West Germans have not yet eloquently exhibited. If Chancellor Adenauer and his "new" diplomats show a true willingness to pay some part of the price to Israel, perhaps they will also be showing an honest willingness to find out what price the Soviets will pay.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *"McStassen's" Assist to McCarthy*

IF I HAD TO CHOOSE between the repellent McCarthy and the snide "McStassen," I would instantly choose the former. Politically speaking, McCarthy is a natural as a guttersnipe, while "McStassen," with a better background, has debased himself. Those who are responsible for making him president of the University of Pennsylvania should speedily unmake him. Meanwhile, self-respecting members of the faculty of that unhappy institution will doubtless attend future faculty meetings with clothes-pins on their noses.

If "McStassen" has sought his present place in the gutter in a desperate quest for headlines that might revive his non-existent chance to be nominated by the Republicans for president, he will find that Republicans would rather see the White House befouled by McCarthy than desecrated by "McStassen." Until he became an ally of McCarthy, in the fight to defeat the nomination of Dr. Philip C. Jessup, "McStassen" had some standing as a citizen, although some have been curious about the financial support that has been his in his political adventures, while others have been quizzical about his posturings as president of the University of Pennsylvania. After all, why was this high-ranking institution made the victim of a sordid political payoff? He cannot now be cited as an example of honorable public conduct and official probity. His students cannot be proud of him.

> Just for a coveted headline he left us,
> Just for a dagger to stick in our back!

If "McStassen" has known any facts bearing upon the fitness of Dr. Jessup to represent his country at the coming session of the United Nations in Paris, he has not disclosed them. All that he has had to offer is conjecture, hearsay, and tortured interpretations. He testified that a great citizen, Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg, told him—hearsay from a dead man and thus doubly inadmissible as evidence—that at an important "off-the-record" conference at the White House on February 5, 1949, Dr. Jessup had advocated the cause of Red China. Unfortunately for "McStassen," this spurious "fact" turned out not to be true when Arthur H. Vandenberg, Jr., produced his father's memorandum relating to this conference, from which it appeared that Dr. Jessup was not even present. Nor was "McStassen" able to produce any aide-memoire of his own referring to his alleged talk with the late Senator Vandenberg.

"McStassen" would have had us believe that Senator Vandenberg poured into the sieve, named "McStassen," confidences that he was, in honor bound, to regard as confidential, as well as "facts" that were not facts. It goes without saying that, if Senator Vandenberg did disclose any information about an "off-the-record" conference at the White House, he must have impressed upon "McStassen" its confidential nature. Either this, or the Senator assumed that he was talking to a mature man and not to a clothes-line gossip who would shout aloud, so that the Kremlin might hear, alleged evidence of American disunity.

We have only "McStassen's" unsupported word for the alleged confidence that Senator Vandenberg gave him. There is nothing in the record to negate the possibility that "McStassen" deliberately lied in his greed for headlines. Later, at his own request, he appeared before Sen. John Sparkman's subcommittee again, and yet again. To present facts? By no means. He argued like a pettifogger from the record of the White House meeting, as well as from that of a later meeting in October at which both he and Dr. Jessup were present. He proved nothing except that, in his desperation to undo the damage that he had done to his veracity, he was willing to smear Dr. Jessup by insinuations, innuendoes and strained constructions.

The October meeting that "McStassen" attended was also an "off-the-record" affair. But once again our clothes-line gossip proved that he is not a man to whom one can speak in confidence. The record of that meeting discloses that several participants, who had no official connection with the government, did discuss whether Red China should be recognized and if so, when and in what circumstances. Such a discussion was not only proper, it was necessary if a well-grounded conclusion was to be reached; it was even required unless the conference was composed of a group of babblers.

Doctors diagnosing an obscure disease must exclude before they can wisely conclude. During the discussion, several non-official conferees, but not including Dr. Jessup, considered the advisability of recognizing Red China at some time in the future if conditions should change. However, attachés of the State Department, who were present, were not prepared to commit themselves on recognition, either as to the present or as to the future. The result was that the conference adjourned without taking definite action.

France at one time was famous for its three musketeers; behold our three patrioteers—McCarran, McCarthy and "McStassen."

HAROLD L. ICKES

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A SPECIAL REPORT ON

The Universities:

Freedom, Solvency and Survival

The Campus and the World

WHAT IS a university supposed to be these days? It faces continued financial troubles, so perhaps it should consider itself a business and make money. It faces loss of students to the army, so perhaps it should convert itself into an ROTC training center. Its faculty is attacked for teaching controversial subjects, so perhaps its courses should be confined to those that teach valuable skills rather than troublesome ideas. Its students may be branded as unfit for public service later on for taking part in political activity, so perhaps it should protect them by banning political groups.

These ideas sound extreme, but are they? Many universities have denuded their teaching staffs to achieve "balanced budgets." College presidents fight fiercely to get ROTC units on their campuses. In many colleges the liberal arts are fighting a losing battle against a growing concentration on scientific and engineering projects subsidized by government and industry. The country's most conservative educational institutions find themselves attacked because they awarded music fellowships to left-wingers. Professors in social-science courses meditate that every student is a potential future witness to their "socialist tendencies." One prominent education magazine recently abandoned a scheduled forum on foreign policy because "repeated efforts to secure writers to participate in the forum met with failure."

Fortunately, some universities are becoming aware of the fact that, as Robert Hutchins remarked, "the chief danger to American education is that it will sell its birthright for a mess of pottage." There are few McCarthy supporters among faculty members or among students, even if there are many who acquiesce in silence in today's evil trends. The intellectuals are not giving Truman and Acheson the help they gave Roosevelt in the thirties. But there is a realization that the defense of academic freedom requires more than conviction. Earlier this year a group of government professors defied press attacks to issue a pro-Acheson statement. When forced into the arena of public controversy, academic figures have hit back hard at their vilifiers. The leading student organizations are fighting McCarthyism.

The universities, and the individuals who make them up, must fight because every time a university makes a concession to public pressure in order to get money, every time it departs from the idea of the university as a center of independent thought, it increases the confusion about what a university is. Yet this struggle is only part of the universities' duty. Its members are not best equipped to do constant battle with the demagogues who stubbornly parrot yesterday's prejudices. Their chief area for constructive action toward the nation's sanity and security is on the campus. They must find ways in which they can contribute to the training of armed-forces personnel without becoming Pentagon annexes. They must guard their social and financial strength. They should start a campaign to prove that federal aid to education, support of the medical schools, and an adequate scholarship program are not the "frills" that Senator Taft says they are—but rather essential investments for the nation's future and its security. And while the universities cite themselves as bulwarks of the democratic way of life, they might once and for all nip the bud of social and racial discrimination on campus by following the lead of those schools which have

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absorbed fraternities and sororities into their dormitory systems.

But the essential business of the universities is the future, and the classes and generations who will have to be equipped to face their own new problems. The universities are not immune to the pat and superficial answers to many complex social problems offered today by misguided patriots, big business beneficiaries and zealous, self-styled "realists." The corruption of Communism is cited as proof that all elements of the "American way of life" should be proof against criticism. The predominant influence of power in world politics is shown to illustrate that ideals are socially dangerous and reformers historically useless.

This country's liberal and, at times, radical heritage is maligned by intellectual gymnasts who insist that because we are prepared to defend our society we are committed to defending conservatism. They preach that our present difficulties reflect the failure of thinking in the thirties and forties, and that the fifties should look for inspiration to the twenties. Yet handicapped as the thinkers of the fifties are they can surely do better than what they have done in the past. They can see to it that someone needs today's challenge.

The universities as the last repositories of objective thinking must sift the worthwhile from the chaff in the current crop of re-examinations and rationalizations. The lessons of the past must be debated in full freedom to verify the tentative historical, social and other judgments which we will be forced to make during a period of rapidly changing situations and values. Judgments that involve no more than intellectual honesty in the classrooms may become political stands that take courage to maintain, and if maintained give others courage. The universities have great power for good in America, power that recently has atrophied in idleness. It is important that our universities reclaim their leadership in these bewildered but critical days.

Scholarship, Hysteria and Freedom

To Teach or to Fear

IN A TIME of international tension and widespread fears for the safety of our accustomed mode of life, it is not strange that suspicion should be directed, among others, against scholars and teachers. Their profession involves toleration of the unconventional, a willingness to consider the unfamiliar, to formulate and test ideas not generally accepted. The honest, open-minded seeker of truth always travels a dangerous way; the peril is intensified when the existence of the familiar society itself seems to be at stake and many, in its defense, become fearful of any change and suspicious of those willing to question the merits of things as they are or have been.

Under the guise of promoting general security, even of safeguarding freedom itself, limits are prescribed beyond which those in quest of truth may not go. Efforts are made to insure that only tried and trusted friends of the accepted are licensed to venture beyond the frontiers of the known. Defensive measures, such as trying to restrict scholars by oaths and to ferret out of faculties members who are skeptical of the current orthodoxy, invariably damage the cause they are intended to serve. The institutions to which they are applied suffer disruption and are hindered in some degree from performing the functions for which they were established. This is notably true of the institutions which in the past few years, in an effort to eliminate Communists and to oppose Communism, have dismissed members of their faculties or have required restrictive oaths.

Lately there has been a diminution in the use of these undesirable methods. For one reason, the organized members of the profession, the American Association of University Professors, have done much to create better understanding of the harm these methods do. This Association, intended by its organizers to promote the general improvement of the profession, had its inception in the early stages of World War I. One of its first tasks was to agree upon the nature of the "academic calling." In 1915 an AAUP report emphasized that scholars and teachers require freedom to investigate and to publish, and that this freedom cannot be assured in an organized institution unless members of its teaching and research staff have secure tenure of their appointments.

Educational administrators, through the Association of American Colleges, have participated in the formulation of the principles subsequently evolved. By common con-

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sent, it has devolved upon the responsible officers of the AAUP to investigate cases of departure from these principles and to make public the findings when the responsible administrators and the members of their staffs concerned are unable to find a basis for agreement. The only sanction which the Association can bring in cases of infraction of the principles of academic freedom and tenure agreed upon is the disapproving opinion of the public concerned. But the fact that national associations of both administrators and professors agreed in the statement of these principles tends to mobilize public opinion in disapproval of those who clearly violate them and thus to make publicizing the violation an effective sanction.

Members of faculties, like trustees and administrators, may become fearful in a time of stress and conclude that it is expedient to give up a portion of the freedom to investigate, to publish and to teach in the hope of conserving the rest. Compromise is a familiar method of reaching an agreement when there is difference of opinion on social questions. But there are cases in which to compromise is to abandon the whole question. Academic freedom is one of these; the reasons why are not always easy to explain to laymen, but it is important that they understand if society is to continue to profit in a maximum degree from the labors of scholars and teachers.

A scholar needs to be free to formulate and test any plausible hypothesis that may occur to him regardless of whether or not it runs counter to views currently accepted. There can be no reserved areas into which he may not venture, no prescribed orthodoxies which he may not challenge. To assume that there exists in society any authority, political or institutional, qualified to restrict the area in which a scholar may work and to prescribe limits beyond which his speculations may not go is to repudiate the essential foundations of scholarship. It is also to endow public officials and custodians of institutions with an omniscience most of them would scarcely claim.

The qualifications for scholarship are perhaps the most difficult of human achievements. Society is largely held together by a compound of habits, customs and traditions received from the past and inculcated in youth as the best foundation for the future. We cannot do without this heritage; we must cherish it and refuse to depart from it until we are convinced that improvement is possible. But if there is to be progress, we must be willing to have any phase of this heritage examined critically and subjected to appropriate tests. Scholars, like other people, are a part of this traditional society, imbibe its prejudices and loyalties as they grow up and find it not easy later to question that which they have been taught is sound and good. To reach a stage of objectivity involves arduous discipline. It is almost an impossible task if one is intimidated by the fear that in seeking truth he may find out something which could possibly imperil his livelihood or reputation.

Whether by premeditated design or not, colleges and universities in the US are organized with a clear awareness of these difficulties. It is the duty of the lay boards and trustees and of their administrative agents to see that scholars and teachers are provided with equipment and facilities to do their work, and to see that they have the freedom to do it. It is the business of scholars and teachers to justify this confidence placed in them and the expenditure which society makes on their behalf by addressing themselves open-mindedly and objectively to any pertinent questions that suggest themselves.

Those charged with the administration of the institution cannot prescribe restrictions on the professional performance of teachers without casting a reflection on themselves for having appointed a teaching staff qualified only to carry out instructions.

When it became apparent that the tension between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers was intensifying the fears left in the wake of World War II, the responsible officers of the AAUP faced again the old question of whether an established scholar or teacher should be dismissed from his post because of association with a group which later came under suspicion or whether he should be judged on the basis of his own personal qualities and behavior. The decision had to be that scholarship is an individual achievement and that behavior disqualifying a scholar for a post long held is necessarily personal and cannot be demonstrated by proof of mere association with, or membership in, any group whatever. It followed that a scholar or teacher, entitled to security of tenure in his appointment, ought not to be removed without following an established procedure designed to ascertain whether or not he was personally unfit for his post.

Adherence to this method does not entail the retention of scholars and teachers who are clearly partisan dogmatists. Partisan dogmatism is inconsistent with scholarship. A teacher who seeks to inculcate dogma or to promote partisan causes thereby disqualifies himself for stimulating the honest open-mindedness and objectivity necessary in the quest for truth. Whether or not one holding an academic appointment is guilty of this degree of partisan dogmatism is a fact ascertained by submitting pertinent evidence to a group of his colleagues.

That method has, in fact, proved to be sound. The institutions which have tried other methods—such as dismissing established members of their faculties who were found to be associated with suspected groups or

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requiring oaths of all members in the vain hope of deterring the weak or of discovering unknown offenders—have suffered as a result of the interruption and consequent impairment of the services that the institutions are maintained to render.

One of the disquieting aspects of recent academic-freedom infringements is the apparent unawareness of many faculty members that unfettered search for truth is necessary if scholarship is to be fruitful. There has been a strange willingness in some quarters to withdraw the claim of freedom on one unpopular issue in the hope of defending it on other questions. But once the outer defense is breached, it is difficult to see where another place may be found to make a stand. Either the methods of the scholar are sound and dependable, capable of contributing to an understanding of any question to which they are honestly applied, or we have to resign ourselves to the guidance of current public emotion. One of the basic assumptions in a free society is that a government representative of a public opinion informed and guided by the findings of scholars is more likely to promote the general welfare than is even the most benevolent of despots who directs and restricts the search for truth.

W. T. LAPRADE

Techniques of Intimidation

THE OATH-WRITERS THRIVE. Laws requiring teachers to swear oaths date back to the Civil War when Nevada and West Virginia first prescribed them. Until the current anti-Communist agitation, most of the oaths involved no more than a pledge to support the constitutions of the United States and the various states. However, as early as 1935, Georgia added a frill, requiring teachers to swear that they would refrain from "subscribing to or teaching any theory of government, of economics, or of social relations which is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of patriotism. . . . "

Today, the oaths have been aimed at teachers who either hold "subversive views" or are members of "subversive organizations" (now or in the past); the listing of Communist organizations by the US Attorney General has served as a yardstick, but unfortunately self-appointed patriots frequently amend the list to include any liberal group that is their target at the moment. One outstanding educator said recently, "Hardly a day passes that I do not feel pussillanimous, because I must now refuse to associate myself with anything, even the movement for Mother's Day, without knowing the political views of every other person who is associated or who may later become associated with the movement. This is, of course . . . the creeping miasma of intimidation."

Today "loyalty" oaths have been passed by 26 states and the District of Columbia. Three large state universities—Washington, Oregon, and California—have dismissed faculty members on such grounds as alleged membership in the Communist Party, support of the genetics theories of the Russian scientist Lysenko, and simply refusal to sign a newly instigated loyalty oath. Most state institutions of higher learning, confronted with public demands to keep "Communist influence" out of the classroom, have timidly yielded.

The University of California, faced with threats by the State Un-American Activities Committee to cut off the school's appropriation if it did not clear out "Communist influences," has been the scene of the most notorious "oath battle." The AAUP, in a report issued early this year, calculated the price that the university had to pay. In addition to the 26 professors who were dismissed, 37 others resigned in protest, and 47 professors from other institutions refused to accept appointments at the University of California because of the Regents' policy on loyalty oaths. "A great university . . .," the report said, "has . . . been reduced to a point where it is condemned by leading scholars and learned societies as a place unfit for scholars to inhabit."

Purity in Books. Colleges have generally stood firm against suggestions like one recently made to the California Library Association, that all books be tagged with stickers listing pages which contain "immoral" or "subversive" matter. Not that "Know-Nothing" censors have not tried.

In 1947, the National Economic Council flooded college campuses with a bitter denunciation of a Keynesian textbook entitled "Elements of Economics," by Lorie Tarshis. The attack was contained in a review by NEC's book editor, Rose Wilder Lane, an ex-fiction writer whose formal education ended with her graduation from the Crowley (La.) High School in 1904. Her review demanded that we "stop the teaching of these fallacies and lies in the schools and universities." Merwin K. Hart, NEC's rabble-rousing president, sent the leaflet to the trustees of all colleges using Tarshis, supporting the "socialism" charges with testimony from Victor Kravchenko that the "Leftist liberal" is more dangerous than the Communist. "Please write," he said, "what concretely, you think should be done."

The reaction to Hart's threat was splendid. Only one

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school—the US Coast Guard Academy—dropped the book. In Arkansas the president of the university defended the book and his economics department against attacks from the American Legion. A Yale trustee read the book and wrote Hart: "I think the Tarshis book is an excellent text. . . . Now that I have given you the courtesy of this reply I do not propose to 'do anything about it' further." The peppery head of the economics department at Birmingham-Southern College was yet more succinct. He wrote Hart that "Since you have elected to tell the South what kind of textbooks to use, may I say frankly that you would have more influence . . . should you get a flea circus down on Broadway and devote your time to *applied* economics."

Hatchetmen Enthroned. No charge is too old, no biased judgment too superficial to be used by the enemies of academic freedom. In 1940, a Dr. Ralph Robey leafed through 600 American textbooks to come to the conclusion that a "substantial proportion" hold private enterprise "in contempt." His analysis was not taken too seriously at the time since it was sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers. Now, however, the survey is finding wide credence. In the current *Readers' Digest,* John T. Flynn cites it—without mentioning the NAM—as proof that most teachers are "either Socialists or believers in some sort of collectivist scheme."

And out in Ohio the trustees of the state university have accused one of the textbook writers whom Robey criticized, Dr. Harold O. Rugg, of spouting "un-American propaganda." After he spoke on campus, the trustees promptly voted to bar "disloyal" speakers in the future. Their action, they said, was necessitated by "national security." The first speaker to be barred by the new rule was a Quaker pacifist.

Flynn says that academic freedom is "a trick term," that censoring books and prescribing ideas does not limit the teacher's freedom. "Teachers have the same fundamental rights as other people. They have the right to . . . hire a hall or stand on a soap-box. . . ."

Red-White-Blue Axgrinding. The University of Virginia, the school Thomas Jefferson dedicated to the "illimitable freedom of the human mind," was recently audience to a distasteful spectacle. Three of its most respected faculty members, the head of the Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs and two of its professors, were suddenly charged with being Communist sympathizers. The accusation did not originate with the local DAR or the American Legion chapter but with one of the accused's own colleagues, an ambitious assistant professor in the school. The accuser, rankling at having been passed over for a promotion, had taken his case not to a faculty committee but straight to the public via a radio program which he gave on one of the local stations. On investigation the charges were found to be utterly groundless, and the accuser was fired.

Academic politics is seldom pleasant, but it becomes dangerous when a disappointed faculty member seeks to exploit prevailing political prejudices to bolster his personal ones. Nor do universities always discriminate as well as Virginia did. In the small Fairmont (W. Va.) State College, Dr. Luella Mundel, head of the Art Department, has been dismissed by the State Board of Education on charges almost paralleling those made in Charlottesville. Again the accuser was a disappointed junior colleague. The charge, that Dr. Mundel is an atheist, again was made to a scandal-hungry public, this time in "Ticks and Tocks," the gossip column of one of the local newspapers. Dr. Mundel, who denied both charges, is now suing for slander, but what resources do most professors have to throw into a long and expensive litigation?

The College Press: 1.65 Percent Free. Every college editor worth his salt pursues at least one "crusade" a year. Lack of student interest in the campus chest, the United Nations or the honor system are the more usual topics of editorial broadsides. But sometimes an editor feels called on to aim his shots at more specific offenders—perhaps the college administration or a state political machine that may control it. What happens then?

A case in point occurred last spring at the University of Washington, where the *Daily* editor felt strongly about a new set of subversive-control bills then before the state legislature. His editorials left no doubt of his position. They scorned the "anxious little men" who were "insisting that we give up our freedom to save our freedom." The *Daily* also printed several opposition articles, and the faculty adviser made no open criticism. But one day the editor found himself, without previous notice, called before a faculty-dominated committee and dismissed.

To back up the dismissal, a faculty member explained that "the situation was so bad that the School of Journalism could not take responsibility for the *Daily* if the editor who 'harped' too long on a single issue" remained. A student committee examined the charges. It found that during his campaign the editor devoted less than two percent of the *Daily's* space to coverage of the subversive bills. The committee concluded that "If we are to credit the charges dealt with here, future editors must be warned . . . that they should not devote as much as 1.65 percent of their space to [discussion of an issue]."

ARNOLD J. HEIDENHEIMER

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Are Students Afraid of Politics?

ARE STUDENTS afraid of politics? Many recent reports from the colleges indicate that professors are not the only ones under political pressure. Although the New York American Legion has called for them, students don't yet have to take loyalty oaths. But most campuses are close enough to the outside world to share its current obsession for political orthodoxy. Why take a chance on being called a "Red" later on? Little things like signing a petition or joining a staunchly anti-Communist liberal group may come to the attention of a conservative-minded future employer. Besides, what can a student do politically anyway?

These are the considerations that have recently cut down political activity in the universities and led to a decline of political comment in college newspapers and to a vacuum of constructive new social thought on the campuses.

This atmosphere is reflected in the decline of political organizations. After 1946, leftist groups like American Youth for Democracy and the Young Progressives of America lost membership until only a hard core of Communists were left. More recently, organizations like the Student Federalists have found ebbing idealism for their cause resulting in a drastic decline in participation.

The Young Democrats and the Young Republicans of America make little attempt to overcome student indifference toward the two major parties; traditionally they show life only at election time, when their membership is swelled by law students with political ambitions. The moderate liberal groups have fared little better. The influence of the American Veterans Committee on the campuses disappeared as the veterans graduated. The Students for Democratic Action has had a difficult time combatting student apathy and, on a number of campuses, overt Administration hostility.

Fortunately, the apathy is not universal. College communities are still among the most liberal in the country. A few new campus groups are being formed here and there to put their political intelligence to use. The country's largest student organization has denounced McCarthy and what he stands for; others are successfully fighting to break down segregation and battling for civil rights.

Assembly at Ithaca: Free Youth's Way. In August, two international student congresses drew together youth from the free and the Communist worlds. The Communist World Youth Congress in Berlin featured parades, athletic competitions, colorful native costumes draped about thousands of carefully selected youths. The World Assembly of Youth at Ithaca, New York, was a more modest affair. Delegates numbered in the hundreds; discussion groups were more prominent than demonstrations; meetings had more of the flavor of a YMCA get-together than of a political rally.

The World Assembly of Youth did not draw as much attention as the Berlin rally. It had none of the elements of an impressive spectacle—the careful organization, the dynamic leadership or the universal representation. Sponsored privately—the US host was the National Social Welfare Assembly, which is made up of groups like the YMCA and the Youth Hostelers—the meeting lacked high-powered support. At one point delegates were disappointed that the scheduled appearance of Dean Acheson turned out to be only via a tape recording. A number of important foreign youth groups were absent—those affiliated with the International Union of Socialist Youth boycotted WAY because they were suspicious of its conservative political backing.

Sixty-five countries sent youth delegations to Ithaca, among them Malta and French Guiana. These provided spectacles for the movie cameras, as did the pretty Pakistani girl who, in a convincing speech, dissuaded the group from taking an anti-polygamy stand. But most of the "colonials" had been selected by their governments and seemed hesitant to speak openly on crucial questions affecting their countries. Most American delegates seemed motivated by a well-intentioned but self-defeating attempt to achieve apparent unity. As a result the WAY adopted resolutions on subjects like "Character of Youth Movements" and "Juvenile Delinquency," while smothering political differences, a number of which might have been fruitfully aired.

NSA—A Colossus Awakens. . . . In the last week in August, Sen. Joe McCarthy was booed by 670,000 American students, when the National Student Association at its fourth annual convention moved to consider a resolution condemning the Junior Senator from Wisconsin. The motion, introduced unanimously by the Wisconsin delegation, was adopted by an overwhelming 220 to 48 vote. A number of the dissenters stated that they, too, would have supported the resolution except for the direct reference to McCarthy which they felt might involve the organization in "politics."

Yet NSA's five-year existence is itself a study in applied politics. Since it was founded in 1946, NSA has been trying to unify a segment of the population that has never been organized. Unlike the European university system, where national student groups flourish, American higher education has been traditionally decentralized. In view of intense local and regional feeling, it was quite an achievement even to launch the organization.

Once started, NSA had to establish its character. During the first two years, there were intense internal power struggles over who should shape its policies. These became so acute that several NSA leaders had impeachment proceedings brought against them. The charges ranged from attempted Communist control to use of the organization to further the program of a Young Republican Club.

NSA's voice has not yet come to have real influence even on those issues on which it does speak out. The NSA

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Congress voted almost unanimously to condemn Brooklyn College's banning of its SDA chapter, for instance, with no results. Only a small part of NSA's mass membership has taken an interest in its work. It will be interesting to see if NSA's tangle with McCarthy will provide it with the element of challenge needed to arouse greater participation.

SDA — "Operation Free Thought." It is mildly encouraging that the largest student political group active nationally is one that wages its main campaigns against McCarthyism, McCarranism and political conformity. The 2,500 members of Students for Democratic Action claim that distinction. This year its campaign is "Operation Free Thought," a political action and education program against reaction on and off the campus.

Like other youth groups, the SDA benefits because its members generally have fewer inhibitions than more sophisticated liberals. It roundly blasted the Supreme Court's validation of the Smith Act as being in violation of liberal principles, in a unanimous resolution passed at its Berea convention this summer. The SDA's eagerness to come to grips with all problems sometimes results in minor inconsistencies— as when one Berea resolution advocated the settlement of "honest grievances" with the Soviets, while another championed attempts to foster "internal breakdown" of the Communist regime—but its general policy is intelligent and effective.

The SDA points with pride to its Harvard chapter which led the fight against the oath by which Navy ROTC students at the university had to swear that they would inform on all fellow students active in "subversive" organizations. The resulting furor led the Navy to modify the oath. In Illinois, Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, the SDA chapters were active in fighting local "loyalty" bills before the state legislatures. The SDA's Nashville, Tenn., chapter includes students from two Negro and three white colleges, breaking the local segregation pattern.

Federalist Split: A Renaissance? Delegates from a reduced student federalist movement met in Philadelphia this month to attempt to infuse new life into what had been the declining junior arm of the United World Federalists. A revolt long in the making broke into the open at UWF's Des Moines meeting in June when the student delegates voted 22 to 6 to cease trying to compromise the differences between it and the adult group. The chief complaint was that UWF's single-minded devotion to the far-away ideal of world government prevented its student leaders from coming to grips with many vital current problems. The younger members charged the adult group with "slapping down" chapters, such as the one at the University of Illinois which tried to fight a set of "anti-subversive" bills in the state legislature.

The revolt seems, however, to have had deeper causes than the dispute over political emphasis. As one of the dissidents wrote: "The leadership of the corporation [UWF] is more or less strongly influenced by conservative businessmen, who look upon the achievement of world government as a business operation." In contrast, he noted that the students are "idealistic and convinced of the power of the human mind; in their approach they are sometimes brash and impatient with mediocrity and intolerance."

Atlanticism and Point Four. Two new student groups—evolved from two different international ideals—are about to make their debut on campus. One is a student off-shoot of Clarence Streit's Federal Union movement, which has been active in urging Congress to initiate a bid for political unity with the other democratic members of the Atlantic community. Another, the International Development Association, is a student model of the Point-Four program.

Impetus for the Federal Union movement is intended to come from a series of regional Model Atlantic Union conventions to be held in the US, followed by a larger assembly in Europe next year. The IDA plans to send its members to work in native political and social projects throughout the underdeveloped areas of the world. One of its initial efforts will be to recruit volunteers to work with the Indian Peasant Movement, which will pay the expenses in India of those assisting with its village programs. The IDA's chief official is at present organizing for the Uganda Federation of African Farmers.

Splinters. Recently a member of the Socialist Youth League attended a meeting of the Social Democratic Student League for Industrial Democracy. The SLID has about 150 members. Yet the Shachmanite critic found a "definite split" among delegates from its six college chapters. The right-wing was imbued with a "determination to scuttle." The left-wing minority—some of whom were Shachmanites—"fought with a passion appropriate to its convictions."

Where Are the Communists?—The party-line groups in recent years have diminished in number and membership and increased in virulence. The prime vehicle for Communist propaganda on the campus today is the Labor Youth League. Leon Wofsy, its not very youthful secretary, emphasized its character at the group's organizing conference in Chicago in 1949:

> Because of the very nature of our organization, we will develop the very warmest fraternal relations with the Communist Party. . . . [These] are, of course, not in contradiction to, but a further expression of, the independence of our organization, for the Communists are on principle against control of the youth.

Its espousal of the Stockholm and other peace campaigns has won it sympathy among the guileless and those who fail to find elsewhere a symbol for total rejection of their society. The group forms a tight social clique; its members seem to find special enjoyment in the conspiratorial impression given by their guarded movements and gatherings.

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The University: Factory or Forum

The Means and the End

AMERICAN experts in higher education have during the last 15 years or so been more worried about the liberal arts than their opposite numbers in almost any other country in the world. From the bombshell dropped by Robert Hutchins in his *The Higher Learning in America* to the Harvard Report on *General Education in a Free Society* and on to more recent discussions, forums, publications and agitations about the nature of the Humanities, there has been a continuous ventilation of the whole question of what constitutes a good liberal education. And discussion has been accompanied by practical experiment, so that throughout the liberal-arts colleges of the country there now exists every kind of course in the "History of Western Civilization," "Great Books of the Western World," the "History of Ideas," "Introductions to Literature" and the other arts, and similar comprehensive treatments of what is deemed to be essential in the way of facts, ideas, understanding or "disciplines" to a basic education.

What have we got now in the American liberal-arts school?

We have got, in the first place, more earnestness than is good for either teacher or student. Proponents of humane culture in the colleges are at the same time defensive and aggressive (a not uncommon psychological phenomenon). They defend their subjects against the claims of a rather imaginary kind of scientist, insisting with a great deal of worried pleading on the primary importance of the liberal arts, and they provide courses, often most ingeniously worked out, to give the minimum apparatus deemed to be necessary for becoming cultured.

But does it work? A small number of students take fire from these courses and are led to a more intensive and more personal study of some aspect of literature or history or philosophy; a larger number acquire a sense of the need to be zealous for culture, without quite understanding why or how; a still larger number acquire a vocabulary and a little information, both of which they can demonstrate on demand, if the demand is made within the context in which they took the course and not too long after they have taken it. Yet such courses, at their best, are well conceived and well taught and give as much as can be given to the student in this way and at this stage.

It could be argued that this is neither the ideal way nor the ideal stage, that culture should be taken for granted and grown up with, rather than provided in boxed-in courses at the college level. This argument is not as impressive as it may sound, for it simply emphasizes that all formal education beyond the primary level is a necessary, but never wholly satisfactory, substitute for the cumulative experiencing of culture which, in an ideal world, would be achieved as a matter of course by sensitive and alert minds growing up in an interesting world whose links with the past were clearly organic, yet which was committed to the present and purposeful about the future.

The more serious objection to the American liberal-arts school is not that its teaching is formal—it is indeed much less formal, in the obvious sense of that term, than it used to be, or than it frequently is in other countries today—but that it is atomistic. Students acquire knowledge and understanding in separate "units," and the artificial collection of such units produces eventually the bachelor's degree and, in theory, the educated man.

It is odd that one of the most serious defects of American education—its atomistic nature, its lack of cumulative sequence in courses—seem to have arisen from its desire to become flexible. For, paradoxically enough, the division of subjects, and phases of subjects, into separable units studied as self-contained courses which one can duly "pass" and then forget all about, arose in the course of an attempt to allow variety and "democracy" in education. It has actually resulted in making it more difficult than ever for the student to move flexibly and maturely from one phase of a subject to another. Education has failed where the student cannot remember or use what he learned in class outside the context in which he originally learned it.

The lack of continuum between secondary and higher education emphasizes this problem. Real proficiency in any humane subject requires, above everything, familiarity: the student must have lived with his subject continuously over a long period of time. This is most obvious in the case of a foreign language. To collect a

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couple of "units" in a language at college is the most inefficient and uneconomical of procedures. Each course should build on its immediate predecessor, and foundations should go down firmly and continuously into elementary education. Without such cumulative learning, courses are apt to be unduly and unrealistically compartmentalized.

But it is worth recognizing that in no country has a wholly successful democratic school system yet been worked out. In Britain, the best secondary schools (which are remarkably good in standard academic subjects) have always tended to go at the pace of the fastest and to organize themselves and their curriculum around the academically gifted boy. As a result, for a long time now British secondary schools, both public and private, have worked for an intellectual elite. The Education Act of a few years ago makes it obligatory for the parents to allow, and the educational authorities to provide, education for each child according to his "age, ability, and aptitudes." The gifted child, however poor or humble his parents, is now educationally taken care of in Britain right through the university. The real problem is what to do with the others.

Americans, in their public schools, have tended to go at the pace of the slowest in the interests of democratic equality. Taking an imported curriculum originally intended for the elite, the American free public school "democratized" itself by watering it down, lowering standards, eliminating such . rmal intellectual discipline, and throwing in a few "vocational" subjects. On top of all this came popular and often misconceived notions of "progressive" education to throw suspicion on any system which demanded of school children hard work and real intellectual effort. The result has been that secondary education in the US is far behind what it should be, and what are the most fruitful and intellectually curious years of childhood are practically wasted. Without skills and information, acquired *cumulatively* over a period of years at the secondary level, no student is capable, in the ordinary course of events, of getting a real "liberal" education from even the most brilliantly conceived liberal-arts curriculum in college.

The liberal-arts curriculum in American colleges is indeed often brilliantly conceived and enthusiastically taught. But one cannot escape the feeling that it is often like trying to put paint on a surface that has not been properly prepared: the paint will not stay on, or, if it does, it is streaky and patchy. I think this partly explains why so many American students, who have studied and done well at a liberal-arts college so often give the impression of not being at home in their culture. Their education consists of a collection of courses artificially assembled, not of a living body of skills and ideas genuinely absorbed.

To take subjects in rigidly compartmentalized courses and put each one behind you when that course has been passed, does not produce a synthesis of knowledge. If the student were expected to retain something of what he had learned in each course over a period of four years and were then tested by general essay questions on his ability to use what he had learned outside the context within which he originally learned it, he might be in a better position to handle his knowledge maturely. How often, when I have asked my English literature students to write an essay on some critical question, they have wailed: "But what do you want us to *say*?"

In my first year of teaching in an American University—now some 14 years ago—I was rash enough to set a group of seniors, all English majors, an examination in which the question paper consisted of one word: "Irony." I wanted them, of course, to write an essay developing their notions about irony in literature and illustrating their view by appropriate references to works they had read. Not one of them would put pen to paper until I had explained what I wanted them to do—and even then they remained bewildered. They thought there was a right answer: I was looking for an intelligent playing with ideas. It is characteristic of the earnestness of the American liberal-arts school that playing with ideas is frowned upon. Yet it is the most civilized and civilizing of activities.

Too earnest, too atomistic, too little grounded in previous secondary education—these are the faults I find in the American liberal-arts school. They are faults deriving for the most part from causes beyond the power of the college to control. What the college itself does is often most impressive both in range and in organization. The change that is required is a change not so much in the courses as in the preparation for the courses and in the atmosphere on the campus. The courses in themselves are often more lively and more flexible than those given in English universities.

Students, for example, should be encouraged to read around a subject and discouraged from believing that any classroom presentation is more than the most fragmentary introduction to be followed up by personal investigation in the library. Good reading rooms, with the books on open shelves, are essential. Students must

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learn to browse among the literature of a subject, discovering as they do so that some books are to be read carefully and others merely thumbed through. Alternate reading and browsing in an open-access library is a liberal education in itself. The rigorous ploughing through an assigned reading list, though of course important, is only half the battle.

I think American students take far too many courses, and work, in a sense, too hard. Three courses a term are ample if the student is to find time to read around his subject, and to talk, think, play with ideas and flex his intellectual muscles freely and cheerfully. I don't believe in "working one's way through college," though I recognize that all too often it is necessary. If the student has the abilities to enable him to profit from college study, then his college expenses ought to be taken care of, by the state if necessary.

So much emphasis has recently been laid on environmental conditioning that any suggestion that children differ in native intelligence is often met with horror. Nor is this the only confusion prevalent among well-meaning "liberal" educators. The notion that culture lies in a given number of "Great Books" which if properly read will lead you down the royal road to civilization is naïve and foolish. Education does not consist in knowing a series of books, however good, but in the acquisition of certain habits of mind and certain kinds of intellectual responsibility and aesthetic awareness. There are many different ways of achieving this. The history of science, for example, if properly studied and its implications properly explored, could be as humane and central a study as any of the more conventional liberal-arts subjects.

The impact of political thinking on the theory of education in recent times has, I think, been wholly bad, for it has led to oversimplifications, distortions and much general foolishness. President Robert M. Hutchins' notions were attacked from the Left as "reactionary" and "authoritarian," while watered-down fragments of misunderstood John Dewey masqueraded as "liberal" or "progressive." All this is nonsense, and fortunately the liberal-arts colleges have paid little attention to this kind of talk.

What they need to devote their attention to now is the relation of college education to what goes before, with a view to exerting some influence on the high-school curriculum and teaching methods and the atmosphere of the campus, which is, in a sense much more important than the formal class work. For it is the way a student lives during his college years that contributes most to the success or failure of his education.

DAVID DAICHES

How Foreign Students See It

"ARRIVING Railroad Station 9:30 P.M.—Rataconda Ramakrishna Rao."

The Foreign Student Adviser met the train. Another of about 3,000 US Government-financed scholars, coming this year from 70 countries, had arrived. He probably brought with him little baggage, but plenty of pre-conceptions and prejudices. He would add a new horizon to the school—but also a new headache. He, and 30,000 other overseas students now in the US, comprise a growing problem for their advisers on 270 campuses, and for their hosts, the American people.

For Rataconda Rao not only expected to be met at the station, he expected of America a little of all the contradictory things said in his country about America. He expected to get first-rate, efficient instruction in his subject (preferably at Harvard), yet "the American mind" he firmly considered "immature" or "superficial." He was prepared to enjoy our high standard of living to the full, but to disdain our "materialism" from a millenial height. He was curious about American democracy, but wary of any attempt to convert him into an American agent.

No wonder the State Department and university advisers are puzzled about how to satisfy both Rataconda and the purposes of the foreign-exchange program. Those who blithely assume that any foreigner's stay in America will foster international amity should consider the survey of 100 Indian students reported by Normal Kiell in the April issue of *The Journal of Higher Education*:

> Before arrival here, 68 percent had markedly favorable opinions of the United States; after they had been here a a short while, 89 percent thought well of their host nation. But after living here from four to 40 months, only 22 percent were still favorably inclined in their attitudes to the United States. Fifty-seven percent held decidedly unfavorable opinions.

State Department officers caution that this survey is of the situation a year ago when foreign students were left on their own and often became isolated. For instance, one university kept reporting enthusiastically about a Japanese research scholar who was ably assisting in experiments with rats; here was one successful "exchange," everyone had assumed. Yet when the boy was about to leave, it was discovered that he hardly knew America

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at all. "Where did you spend Christmas vacation?" he was asked. "I took care of the rats." The same answer for Easter and Thanksgiving. No one had bothered to introduce him to anything but rats.

To rectify this, a carefully planned, six-weeks orientation program now awaits all newcomers, and "get-acquainted" schemes are in operation on many campuses. "Every afternoon I had to make a tour of something; every night I had to visit someone's home; every hour was organized," complained the weary Rataconda at the end of one such six weeks.

The State Department counters the survey of Indian students with a new, before-and-after study of 392 German visitors which presents a brighter side. No one should underrate the difficulties of educational exchanges across the Atlantic. Colonel McCormick has been exposing the threat from Rhodes scholars for so long that we should not be surprised to find European McCormicks complaining about "coca-colonization" through Fulbright students. But this is all inside one family.

Of a different order is the problem involving students who are foreign to all of the white, industrialized West. These students from Asia and the Southern continents can never forget that they come from a two-thirds of the world which is ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed. They come under the spreading shadow of social revolution, which warns them that they must return prepared to play some part. Theirs is still largely a middle world which has not chosen sides in the Atlantic-Soviet struggle. How it chooses can decide that struggle's outcome. And the exchange students may determine that choice.

It is this aspect that concerns the State Department most. "With every student we should realize that we may be sending back a future prime minister."

In any case, it is a safe guess that 1,200 Indian students now studying here will at least return to become their country's "American experts." And these "experts" will from now on, under the Fulbright selection process, become increasingly outstanding and representative. With a bi-national committee, it is probable that domestic "pull" will play a far smaller role in the picking. For instance, Rataconda's record makes him the very kind of student America wants, but his peasant family would have no means to send him, or "connections" to obtain for him an Indian scholarship.

The largest challenge arising from this program concerns racial discrimination. It may be that we cannot expect any more than 22 percent of Indian students to be pro-America as long as segregation continues. For they all come here sensitive to the sun in their skin, with a burning sense of color-kinship with the Negro. Before they arrive they are warned what to expect, but the first experience of a racial snub causes an unforgettable shock.

"My first day in this city I wish had been my last," a Nigerian student said of Washington, D. C. "I thought that at least a Chinese restaurant would admit me, but even it threw me out."

When three African students were recently invited to visit a white family for the first time, the evening was interrupted by an angry apartment engineer who shouted, "I seen Nigras come in here; you'll have to remove them or I'll call the police." They weren't removed, but they remember.

Even an ardently pro-American Indian, who had studied at Syracuse and had broadcast over the Voice of America, admitted that his emotions had changed his mind after a visit to the TVA on the eve of his departure. How many thousands of foreign pilgrims have turned away in disgust or sadness when at the very door to the TVA, in the official reception room at Norris Dam, they see restroom signs, "Colored" and "White"? This Indian wanted to have his talk for the Voice of America recalled.

All the State Department can do about this it is doing. "We are going to try to see that they know the whole story—both the facts of discrimination and the facts of progress in erasing it," an officer said. "If, after that, they still can't like us, then maybe we are just not good enough for Asia."

The other great question is whether America is a good training ground at all for students from the underdeveloped areas. Some argue that the West, especially the US, only spoils such students. "Your technology is too overwhelming to be copied, your comforts too enticing to be resisted." An Indian with a $12,000 medical-research position in a US hospital—does he leave it to go home to a village clinic? A Ph.D. in dentistry, with an $8,000 offer, asks his Embassy if there is any chance of even a decent salary if he returns to India.

What steps can improve the program? Immigration restrictions on student visas prohibiting remunerative work should be lifted. The foreign student advisers, who play such key roles, should be carefully selected and given adequate time and staff to do a thorough job. Universities might consider designing special courses and seminars to meet the problems of the foreign students. Most of all, everyone concerned should recognize that friendship toward America will arise primarily out of friendships with Americans. In the State Department survey of the German students, 39 percent were found to be more favorable to America because of the goodwill they found in the American people.

HARRIS WOFFORD JR.

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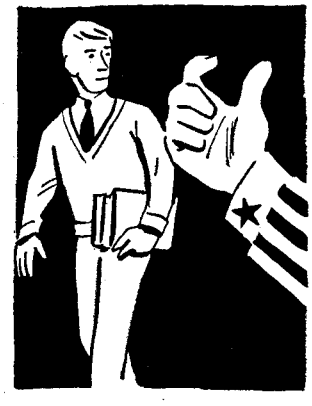
Survival: The Red and the Khaki

Will UMS Be Fatal?

IT IS ALMOST certain that in the years immediately ahead some form of military training and service will be required of all able-bodied young American men. The best age for military service is also the usual time for college and university study. Thus some conflict between these two programs is inevitable.

To maintain an active armed force of between three and four million men Universal Military Service of from two to three years will sooner or later have to be required of virtually all physically and psychologically capable young men. Population statistics show that because of the lowered birth rate of depression years we are facing a dearth of young men of optimal military age. This fact makes the problem of providing a continuous stream of educated and specially trained men for both our civilian and defense economy especially difficult.

In discussions of UMS two principles are often mentioned. One is called "equality of sacrifice." The other is called "highest individual contribution." If it is assumed that for a period of 15 or 20 years all physically capable young men will be required to pay a "time tax" of military service, the conflict between these two principles can be at least partially resolved. This can be done by allowing some young men to serve when they become 18 or 18.5 years old, but permitting others—students of demonstrable academic ability—to postpone training in the national interest until the completion of higher education. All who receive postponement would be required to pay their full "time tax" as doctors, dentists, engineers, linguists, and as trained men in many other specialized fields.



If a plan of postponement of this sort is not adopted, it may well be necessary to draft certain men twice. The armed forces must have young doctors, engineers, scientists and other specialists. Only by postponing the service of such men until they have received higher education can the inequity of requiring them to serve twice—once when they are young, and again when they are trained—be avoided. In order not to violate the principle of equality of service, postponement must be defined so that it can never become exemption.

A properly elaborated plan of this sort would allow individuals who demonstrate by nationally administered aptitude tests that they are probably capable of profiting by higher education, and who in fact do such work well, to give their service to the nation as educated men after graduation. This plan will allow them to make their highest individual contribution to the defense of the country by the use of their superior abilities after training. It will be advantageous to the armed forces also not to have all their inductees with the physical and psychological characteristics of high-school seniors. An orderly plan for postponement of military training will remove the uncertainty which now haunts all college students as to the time when they may be called for service.

Such a plan will maintain at least some continuity in the procedures of higher education during the difficult transitional period when Universal Military Service is first applied on an age-basis to all young men. A similar program has been in use with reasonable success in England since the War.

Colleges and universities in this period should make their Reserve Officers' Training Corps programs as effective as possible. As time passes, it may prove feasible for colleges also to participate in some aspects of the training of enlisted personnel. Because of the present shortage of engineers, scientists and other specially trained men in our economy, the adequacy of any plan for UMS should be judged in part by its provisions for maintaining the necessary higher education which alone can produce such specialists.

A financially and humanly expensive military training program will insure that never again will it be necessary for us to follow the unhappy old American custom of sending untrained recruits into battle. But it is essential that we also require the services to make the best use of the human material available to them. The capacities of each trainee should be assessed as accurately as possible throughout his service period; phy-

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sicians, psychiatrists, psychologists and other experts in military manpower problems, both inside and outside the armed forces, must play a newly important role to accomplish this.

It will be important that inductees with high academic aptitudes be given every incentive during service years to do real academic work whether or not they have had previous higher education. A program of this sort can be made a great positive morale-building force. By expanding the present effective work of the US Armed Forces Institute educational experience can be advanced and an interest in academic work maintained during service years. By properly extending this plan the essential stream of educated men for civilian life as well as for military life may be less seriously deflected.

What else can be done to make UMS constructive?

A New GI Bill. No matter what postponement program is worked out, it is certain that many men will first enter higher education after, rather than before, military life. If modified "educational GI benefits" are made available after service, many men who otherwise might not have entered upon higher education may enjoy its advantages.

Educational Acceleration? The addition of at least two years to the period before a young man becomes a self-supporting professional or college-educated businessman in our society is a most serious matter. Every effort should be made to evaluate the true effectiveness of procedures such as those currently under study by the Ford Foundation which may shorten the total time required for higher education.

Elastic High Schools. Secondary schools and colleges may also find it in the national interest to develop elastic policies in regard to time for starting and completing new courses of study. From many points of view UMS will give new and telling arguments to those who favor a general federal scholarship program.

Ideas for Peace. It must be recognized that programs for UMS are contrary to the tradition and wishes of many Americans and especially of American educators. This will certainly mean that every effort will be made in our educational institutions to teach the facts that are basic to a truly free society which ultimately must be fundamental in a new and peaceful world order.

Make It Human. Every college president's mail contains letters from those who cling to the hope that our nation can even now, somehow, avoid UMS. Unhappily, those who write these letters seem to cover up hard facts by deeply felt wishes. It would be futile for educators to oppose the whole general idea of UMS. Rather they must work to see that the details of the plan which the nation adopts shall be as humanly advantageous and constructive as possible.

LEONARD CARMICHAEL

Income Down, Costs Up

AMERICAN colleges and universities are again facing an acute financial crisis. The new threats arise from the inflation of the past year, the promised inflation of the next few years and an expected serious decline in enrollment. No one actually knows how many students will be lost to the draft. Last spring estimates ran as high as 40 to 50 percent. At present, the over-all drop is only 10 percent, but losses are not evenly distributed. Women's colleges, co-educational schools and graduate schools suffer less than the all-male colleges, and the more popular institutions of higher learning may seek to pass financial losses on to others by lowering standards a little in order to maintain enrollment.

Colleges and universities today have the misfortune to be victims of policies which on the whole can be justified on other grounds. The low-rate interest policies of the government, for example, tend to depress the returns on a given investment. The colleges are now earning about four percent on their investments; their return in the 1920s was more than five percent. In fact, their current rates are even lower than this comparison suggests, for increasingly the universities have turned to common stocks, and, therefore, the four-percent return reflects much greater risks than were taken in the 1920s. The 1929 depression had disastrous effects on several institutions with large holdings of common stocks. A large economic decline in the 1950s could substantially reduce the income of many more private institutions.

Another government policy which has resulted in hardship for college treasurers is the increasing tax burden allotted to the rich. Colleges have been the darlings of the millionaire, and the fact that millionaires are becoming scarcer, both relatively and absolutely, is very unfortunate from their point of view. Thus in 1929 the federal income tax absorbed $15,000 of a $100,000 income; in 1948, $46,000; and in 1951, several thousand dollars more. The $100,000 income recipient left with $85,000 is much more disposed to give than when left with but $50,000 to maintain his standard of living in the face of rising costs.

The best evidence of the effects of higher taxation on

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educational philanthropy is the surprising failure of colleges to receive financial gifts in an amount at all proportional to the much higher level of income in recent years. Despite much more effective fund-raising organization, colleges are not receiving donations from private sources commensurate with their needs. The sharp decline in their gift income is made evident by the following comparison:

In each of the three decades—1900-1910, 1910-1920 and 1920-1930—colleges received about $600 million in gifts. This amounted to roughly one-eighth of one percent of the national income of the period. If the colleges were to get an equivalent percentage of the national income in the 1950s, they might expect about $3 billion, or more than their total endowment at the end of the year. However, on the basis of the results of the 1940s, we can expect the decade's gifts to amount to no more than $1 billion—or about one-thirtieth of one percent of the national income.

In short, the public is less disposed to give; and what it gives returns less, both because the yields are down and because prices are up. It is no wonder, then, that Harvard could increase its $100 million endowment by about $75 million in a recent period of 18 years and yet fail to increase its real returns on investments (in dollars of stable purchasing power). In fact, the investment income "per student" declined by one-third.

What about help from state governments and from tuition? State and local governments, which support approximately half the student capacity, find it difficult to increase their receipts with the rise of prices. In general, state and local governments play a much less vital part in the national economy than they did in the early 1930s; this is reflected in the educational field.

As to tuition, the colleges and universities are not disposed to, and cannot, raise tuition in proportion to the increase in prices. Since postwar increases in tuition have been substantially less than the inflation of other costs, students seem to be getting an education at a bargain price. But the lower charges in 1950 dollars are offset by a deteriorated product associated with increased enrollment, failure to maintain plants and the skimping of funds for many other university functions. Thus, from 1932 to 1947 college expenditures increased 40 percent in stable dollars. But with enrollment twice as great, the real outlay per student is today actually 30 percent less. These reductions may represent significant economies, but they also mean deterioration of the product.

Most conspicuously, these economies hurt faculty morale. Many colleges have been able to balance their budgets by squeezing their faculties. The financial position of faculty members has been declining steadily in both absolute and relative terms. Their pay since prewar has risen only about two-thirds as much as prices; and this in a period during which *real* income per capita has risen about 40 percent. In relation to the rest of the community, the *relative* position of the average faculty member has fallen by one-half in the past decade.

The results are obvious. Dissatisfaction, outside work, even neglect of responsibilities to the institution follow. Perhaps most important, recruiting new members for the teaching profession becomes more difficult. Faculty members of leading universities frequently recommend their current crop of Ph.D.'s for employment with business and even with the government at rates of pay greatly exceeding their own. As always happens in periods of stress, there is also an egalitarian principle at work. The older and the more able suffer. In the four city colleges of New York, according to a New York *Times* article, the pay of professors rose by only seven percent over the last 10 years; that of associate professor, 14 percent; assistant professors, 25 percent; and that of instructors, 44 percent. That is to say, the *real* pay of full professors declined by 37 percent, that of instructors by only 15 percent.

In 1945, a committee appointed by the House Committee on Education reported that federal subsidies would be required should the war go on through 1945-46; it proposed subsidies to institutions with less than 60 percent of normal enrollment. What has happened to the proposals of the President's Commission for Higher Education to provide scholarships, construction aid, and other federal and state aid? Without such assistance the colleges, badgered by 10 years of inflation, temporarily saved by the GI bill and now facing a long period of mobilization with a drop of enrollment are once more confronted with a dismal future.

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

Contributors

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Harris Wofford Jr. was founder and president of the Student Federalists and is author, with his wife, Claire, of *India Afire.*

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(*Continued from page 8*)

The House conferees capitulated, which caused the liberals in the House to vote against the conference report. Their votes, when added to those of the reactionaries, were sufficient to send the bill back to conference.

The Conference Committee then made a few very minor concessions. Most House liberals admitted a defeat in principle but voted for the conference report in preference to having no tax increase at all.

Indications are that President Truman will ask for another tax bill next year to make up for the inadequate revenues voted at the session that has just been ended.

WITCH HUNTER SINGED

Henry Wallace and Joseph Alsop last week wrapped the McCarran committee up in its own contradictions and tied the bundle with Budenz' red ribbon.

Committee members, bent on saving Budenz, insisted that Alsop's and Wallace's detailed evidence concerning Wallace's Asian mission were only expressions of opinion to be placed beside Budenz's uninformed opinion. But every newspaperman present left convinced that Budenz' efforts to destroy State Department career man John Carter Vincent, Wallace's aide on his trip, had been shown to be lies, sworn under oath.

Budenz swore that, thanks to the influence of Vincent, known to him as a Communist Party member, Wallace's mission advanced the Communist cause. Wallace and Alsop, supported by a telegram from Gen. Clair Chennault, proved that, on the contrary, Wallace's main recommendation, for Gen. Joseph Stillwell's replacement by Gen. Albert Wedemeyer, was looked on by Communists with horror. The committee staff denied this, quoting double talk from the *Daily Worker*. They succeeded only in trapping themselves by arguing that Wedemeyer, their favorite general, was a Communist ally.

Budenz, backed by powerful friends, may escape prosecution and punishment for perjury. But to impartial observers his word will be worthless from now on.

DELAY IN ALUMINUM

Mobilization Chief Charles E. Wilson's admission before a joint session of the House and Senate Select Committees on Small Business that monopoly interests are retarding increased aluminum production is one of the most forthright statements on that subject since the US launched its million-ton aluminum expansion program one year ago. Wilson's frankness indicates that he is aware of the real issues in one of Washington's current open secrets: For almost a year, monopoly interests have tossed every kind of curve to keep the most promising independent, the Harvey Machine Company of Torrence, Calif., out of the primary aluminum business.

Last December, the Harvey Company was certified by General Services Administration to participate in the expansion program and given a letter of intent requiring it to proceed with construction of an aluminum reduction plant at Kalispell, Mont. Since that time, the Harvey Company has been buffeted about by a strange combination of forces in and out of the government.

Early in its attempt to get into aluminum production to add to the supply of that vital military material, Harvey found private financing sources reluctant to lend it money. The First Boston Corporation, a major banking firm with interests in the aluminum industry, tried on at least one occasion to discourage private financing of Harvey. A large business concern of a sister metal industry tried to force itself in on Harvey as a partner in the Montana project. Harvey was urged to accept this unrewarding offer by a member of the Defense Materials Administration who was previously employed by the company making the offer.

Harvey's most recent troubles came as disbursement of its $46 million government loan was suspended pending investigation of a power shortage in the Northwest and charges by a newspaper columnist that Harvey had practiced certain irregularities in handling its World War II defense contracts. Statements by the US Attorney General, Howard McGrath, and the Secretary of the Navy, Dan Kimball, have exonerated the company, and Dr. Paul Raver, Bonneville Power Administrator, has assured Congress that there will be power for Harvey's Montana project. The next step, release of government-loaned funds, must come from defense-mobilization authorities to permit Harvey to assemble the necessary equipment and materials for the construction of its aluminum plant and complete its Montana project.

THE MATERIALS SCRAMBLE

When the government's program for allocation of scarce materials, the Controlled Materials Plan, was put into operation last July, the *New Republic* predicted that unless the CMP operated on a 100-percent "closed end" distribution basis—controlling the total supply of strategic materials — small businesses would find themselves getting less and less of the wherewithal for continued existence. Such an effect, it was noted, would mean a phenomenal death toll of the nation's small producers—and a corresponding expansion of the "bigs" of already big industry. The men masterminding the mobilization program at the time—Sidney Weinberg, Lucius D. Clay and Charles E. Wilson—had assured that the CMP would be "open end"—controlling only a portion of steel, copper and aluminum—in keeping with the policies of the "bigs."

Now a House Small Business Subcommittee, after holding hearings extending over a period of two months, has arrived at the same conclusion—that the CMP should have been "closed end" from the beginning. That report states:

> . . . the controlled materials [steel, copper and aluminum] are in critically short supply. The experiment with an "open-end" CMP demonstrated that there is a frantic scramble for the limited supply of controlled materials in the free area. The small manufacturer was limited in his search for supplies [for] without heavy buying power he was at a serious disadvantage.

When the CMP moves into the first quarter of 1952 it will be a "closed-end" program. The reason for this change by the big industry officials running the program was not that operation

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

A PICTURE HISTORY OF THE MAIN CURRENTS

by Lloyd Morris

THESE fascinating volumes, sponsored by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and produced by a member of its staff, exemplify, on a very high level of achievement, a new kind of history which, during the past decade, has won a large popular audience. Its particular novelty consists in reversing the traditional relation between text and illustration, making the writer's function that of interpreting the pictures he has chosen to use. Pictorial history, as an American invention, is a product of the nature and needs of our civilization. It ministers to the curiosity of a public which, although eager for information, is disinclined to study and finds little time to read. It springs from a culture that is being shaped by picture magazines and "digests," the movies and television. From these, it has learned how to exploit vivid visual appeal and how to adapt itself to an audience whose historical knowledge and capacity for attention are both presumed to be limited.

LIFE IN AMERICA, by Marshall B. Davidson (Houghton Mifflin; 2 vols., $20).

Until now, pictorial histories have attempted to present only the elementary information which educated readers already possess. Such readers are likely to be surprised by the significance attributed to this new kind of history by Francis Henry Taylor, director of the Metropolitan Museum. In his foreword to *Life in America*, he declares that it is "a new art and constitutes a visual-literary form as revolutionary in our time as was the novel in the eighteenth century and the short story in the nineteenth." This assertion, certainly not justified by any previous examples, is to a large extent borne out by *Life in America*. The two massive volumes reveal the resources of pictorial history and its great potentialities as an art-form. They also prove that pictures, however expressive and illuminating, cannot bear the full burden of narrative and exposition. This remarkable work indicates not only that text is indispensable, but that, if pictorial history is to take full advantage of its resources and possibilities, its prose will have to be of a high order. *Life in America* is magnificently effective, pictorially. But the maximum historical values of its pictures are to be obtained only by reading the admirable accompanying text.

The stated intention of *Life in America* is to "clarify our understanding of the American experience" through a "visual account of our national history" that will also furnish a "picture of American life as a whole." Marshall B. Davidson has assembled from museums, libraries, private collections and other sources more than 1,200 drawings, paintings, prints and photographs, mainly contemporary with the events and scenes that they depict. To these he adds an interpretive narrative that runs to some 250,000 words. Davidson's commentary is a model of lucidity and literary grace. It makes available, in stimulating fashion, the results of professional scholarship in every department of American social history. And—as pictures alone cannot—it makes explicit the ideas, aspirations and purposes that have been the generative forces of social change.

Life in America is a social history in the most inclusive sense of the term. Although Davidson explains that he has been "more concerned with social forces than with politics, personalities and military matters," these also find a place in his unfolding panorama. The pictorial material assembled in his two volumes is organized topically, and the work is divided into nine parts. The first five cover the life of colonial America; the westward migration; the wideflung empire of shipmasters and merchant princes; the development of agriculture; the process of industrialization. The second volume deals with the leisure-time activities of Americans; the urbanization of our society; the development of transport as the major force that has united the nation; the ways in which Americans, since the Revolution, have sought "to reconcile maximum individual freedom with adequate social authority." The pictures range from sketches by early explorers like Champlain and LeBouteux through forceful engravings by Paul Revere, paintings by an artist who accompanied Vancouver's expedition to Oregon, and onward through the nineteenth century to extraordinary photographs of such contemporary phenomena as abandoned farms in the Dust Bowl, urban slums, automobile and airplane assembly lines, the "flexible power" of the TVA. Pictorially, the effect of these volumes is to immerse the reader in the actual American scene from the discovery of the continent to the present day, to situate the reader in the main currents of the life of a dynamic society.

But this effect of immersion, which pictures can produce more incisively than words, is not in itself sufficient. The reader must not only be enabled to see, but to understand, the processes of history and the quality of life at any particular time. *Life in America*, by virtue of the outstanding excellence of its text, satisfies both these requirements. This is its signal achievement, and a very considerable one. Davidson spent five years in selecting his graphic material, evaluating it and writing an interpretation of American social history to accompany it. His work was financed by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which has good reason to be proud of the result. For *Life in America*, besides being a historical work of genuine importance, suggests that pictorial history is a new art of previously unsuspected power and social value.

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D. H. LAWRENCE

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF D. H. LAWRENCE, by Harry T. Moore (Twayne; $4.50).

JOURNEY WITH GENIUS, by Witter Bynner (John Day; $4).

THE PLUMED SERPENT, by D. H. Lawrence (Knopf; $3.75).

THE LITERATURE about Lawrence now exceeds in bulk what Lawrence himself wrote, and only a passionate devotee can be expected to know it all and expertly state the comparative worth of the various items. Although I see on checking the list that I have read far more of the material than offhand I would have thought possible, still I cannot qualify as an expert. I can only diffidently say that it is my impression that Harry T. Moore's rather dogged, plodding survey is the most comprehensive report on what the Lawrence corpus contains, to which is added an *omnium gatherum* of relevant facts, biographical and otherwise, and that Witter Bynner's book is a lively, sensible and attractive contribution to reminiscence and criticism, considerably short of idolatry, but all the more satisfying for that reason to those of us who take a similar stance. I profited from reading Moore; I thoroughly enjoyed Bynner. But I still think the best book for the general reader is Richard Aldington's *Portrait of a Genius, But . . .*

It is hard to resist the temptation to fight a battle of points with writers about Lawrence, but I have only a few observations to make here. From *Kangaroo* Bynner quotes the character Lovatt on the term "mate." Bynner seems not to realize that a cult of mateship has long flourished in the Australian working class and that Lawrence had seized upon it for his own purposes. This suggests that there is no thorough essay on Lawrence in and on Australia, separating fact from fiction, sense from non-sense. *Meanjin* (Summer, 1950) printed two substantial footnotes on the Australian saga by Katherine Prichard and M. L. Skinner. Australians differ violently about Lawrence, but the house he had at Thirroul was once pointed out to me by a labor leader who was an enthusiast. You never can tell.

But what I'd really like to say here is something else entirely. Lawrence is that rare bird in English literature, a first-class writer of indisputably proletarian origin. What interests me is that he did not support socialism like so many of his fellows in the mining districts. He was scornful of it as only he could be scornful. Instead, Lawrence spent his time prowling around out beyond the railhead of reason seeking a "more human system based on the life values and not on the money values." Lawrence saw that the culture of industrialism would continue under socialism, and since his revolt, remarkably, was against it, he had to reject both the status quo and socialism. Had he lived to visit Russia as he planned, he would also have rejected Communism, also an industrial culture in which money values, as Harry Schwartz shows us in his *Russia's Soviet Economy*, are dominant.

Some writers thought that because Lawrence rejected all varieties of industrial culture he must be a fascist. His leadership cult seems to bear them out. He wasn't. It was not state-political leadership he fussed about but culture-leadership. He saw no life values in Mussolini, Hitler & Co. His leadership fixation arose, I think, out of his irritable wish to do something for his precious values and a faulty understanding of how shifts in values come about. He was apparently quite innocent of culture-history, sociology, and any of the disciplines that might have given him adequate insight. His perception was deep, his proposals for implementing his perception odd, his results fantastic. He is redeemed from total disaster by artistry. It is interesting, I say, that this British proletarian of genius rejected socialism, British and other. Most of his fellows accepted it. Today they have it. They find it not so utterly different as a way of life from what went before. At the level Lawrence was talking about, it *is* no different. Still absent is what Lawrence was looking for out there in the wilderness. Attlee's tepid rationalism plus J. B. Priestley's Yorkshire-pudding heartiness makes a very dry crust indeed, and Aneurin Bevan can't supply any Laurentian jam either.

The Plumed Serpent, that gorgeous but inaccurate tapestry of Mexican life, spiked with the most astounding of all of Lawrence's ventures on the leadership-cum-value-change line — nothing less than the revival of the cult of the old Maya-Toltec-Aztec god Quetzalcoatl—is now reprinted with an introduction by William Y. Tindall. Witter Bynner supplies fascinating details which show how Lawrence worked up his Mexican observations and experiences into the novel, but that is another story. He traveled far, saw much, but rarely did Lawrence get out of the way of Lawrence so he could write of things plain. When he did, it was poetry.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

CATHOLIC LIBERAL

PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, by Yves R. Simon (University of Chicago Press; $3.50).

YVES SIMON is a Thomist. He has mastered Aquinas, Aristotle as interpreted by Aquinas, Aquinas as interpreted and applied in morals and politics by Jacques Maritain, and such Catholic theorists as Bellarmine and Suarez. Consequently he finds it possible to attempt a treatise on government and democracy without serious regard to classic but secular writings in political philosophy, or indeed to systematic studies of political institutions. The result is likely to please those already committed to Catholic liberal doctrine; it is not likely to persuade or to influence others.

Simon begins by rejecting the views that government is unnecessary or a necessary evil, and holds it to be both natural and permanently essential to the attainment of the common good. The special virtue of democratic government is that it gives the people a legal right of revolution plus the freedom to govern. This freedom, it is suggested, does not always include the right to discuss the ends or principles of social life, but is normally restricted to "subjects that have the character of means." Equality is crucial, provided we understand it to be "equality as unity of nature"—*i. e.*, that universal human nature whose features are common to every state of individuality—and do not extend it to deny natural or structural inequalities or permit it to obscure the fact that

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equality of opportunity, rigorously applied, endangers democracy by inviting totalitarian controls. Moreover, while democracy has made men politically free, it has not released them from economic servitude; indeed, modern technological society, by dehumanizing man and divorcing him from the bonds of community, endangers democracy itself. To meet these challenges, democracy must preserve a free church, press, private property and labor unions; recapture the community feelings of rural life; limit government activity in the economic and cultural spheres; and "promote everlasting faithfulness, temperance, dignity in poverty, holy leisure, contemplation."

Granted certain insights, the book suffers from numerous defects. Simon's principles, when pushed beyond a leading sentence, assume entirely different proportions and meanings. Thus democracy, while it involves the right of the people to govern, may in Simon's view properly be associated with nondemocratic principles where these serve the common good or check the enemies of democracy.

Simon's analysis, even when geared to a right principle, is often shallow and unconvincing. Majority rule, for example, is defended in contrast to a caricature of proportional representation; but the real fact that the *principle* of majority rule involves the actual governance by minority rule is neglected. Not all in a democracy have the right of suffrage, and many who are eligible to vote fail to do so; of those who go to the polls (generally a minority of the population) a majority or even plurality carries the day; and this majority of a minority (or even of a majority) is a minority. Majority rule so applied requires a quite different defense from the naive interpretation given it by Simon.

The author's recitation of vague absolutes does not resolve conflicting values. A powerful state is indeed dangerous, and a weak state unlikely to protect the individual from the injustices of private associations. But "virtue," "prudence" and "good will," commendable as they are, do not carry us very far toward grasping the power or moral factors that determine, or ought to determine, the shifting relations of the state to the economic and cultural orders. In like manner, assertions do not become facts by attaching to them the label "history"; data are necessary if the ensuing generalizations are not to float in a vacuum.

Finally, the title of this book is pretentious: it is not a complete or systematic philosophy of democratic government, but a Catholic commentary on some aspects of government.

DAVID SPITZ

VARIETIES OF EXPERIENCE

THE STRANGE CHILDREN, by Caroline Gordon (Scribner's; $3.50).

"THE SOUTH," says V. S. Pritchett, "is America's richest artistic soil." Caroline Gordon in her new novel, to our surprise in view of her earlier books, but lightly works this soil. What is accomplished here is a study in the effects of religious experience, Catholic and Evangelical, and in the effect of lack of such experience, agnostic and rational. It is the agnostics who are supposed to come off badly and are the strange children of the title.

The father of nine-year-old Lucy Lewis is a writer preparing a study of the Battle of Gettysburg; the mother paints a little when not running Benfolly, a house and hundred acres on the Cumberland River. While Lucy is reading in her fairybook of how a handsome knight comes riding, "Uncle Tubby" arrives, a college friend of her father and a poet. Tubby, sprightly and engaging, is fatefully involved, it appears, with Isabel Reardon, who comes along soon after with Kev, her husband. Kev, a convert to the Church through vision, is on a serious mission in these parts. A meeting of Holy Rollers, led by the farmer of Benfolly, reaches its height at the same time as the house-party, and the climaxes splendidly blend as light and darkness are blended in the moonlit night of the final pages.

Miss Gordon has taken the child as her narrator; the child, with all her sensibilities alerted, gravely watches and listens to her elders, troubled but with her judgments beyond her power of statement. Only in a dream is her indictment expressed. In the last moments of the story we are given the father's emotional perception of what has happened and will yet happen to them all: the dream and this perception are the flash points of insight.

The composition of the book is shapely; the style rises light and bright in dialogue (always interesting, never failing in revelation, often amusing) above a certain tedium of pastoral description. The problems of these adults are as humanistic as they are religious. They are serious and, for all the wit and entertainment of the writing, this novel is one for the serious reader. The problems would, one feels, have reached full stature had they been presented out of range of little Lucy.

HAZEL HAWTHORNE

Books in Brief

My Mission in Israel, by James G. McDonald (Simon and Schuster; $3.50).

The first US Ambassador to Israel has written an account of his two years' service in the new state that is both a picture of the special problems of his mission and a description of the pressures and rewards of high diplomatic office in general. Dr. McDonald showed himself a warm but stern friend of the Jews, and it is evident from his narrative that his presence in Tel Aviv was a personal as well as a formal assistance to the Israeli leaders in the crises of early sovereignty.

The author was a Truman appointee and his relations with the President were most cordial; by contrast, and perhaps as a consequence, he enjoyed no more than correct relations with the State Department for which he worked. His views on the men he met are forthright: he admired Ralph Bunche, pitied Count Bernadotte, detested Ernest Bevin, respected for different reasons the very different Ben-Gurion and Weizmann. Dr. McDonald is not a career diplomat and he has now been permitted to return to private life. It seems unlikely that the State Department is so ably represented overseas that it can easily dispense with the services of this modest, friendly, strong and canny delegate.

Mr. Oddity: Samuel Johnson, LL.D., by Charles Norman (Bell, $4).

Charles Norman, author of popular biographies of Marlowe and Shakespeare, now adds Samuel Johnson to the list. The author has taken advantage of information recently unearthed regarding both Johnson and Boswell, and the facts are digested in a lively style, with the chips and shavings of scholarship neatly dusted away.

Fall of the Sparrow, by Jay Williams (Oxford; $3).

The author, an amateur of science, has written a popular but seriously intentioned history of legendary beasts, of the depressing inability of sundry creatures to survive on the same planet with man, of the idealism of conservationists and the greater wisdom of ecologists. Williams has been a vaudevillian, a press agent and a children's author, a varied experience which may account for the stultifying flippancies that mar his text and which a compassionate editor would have suppressed.

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THEATRE

Shaw as Saint

It is customary when a "classic" or nearly "classic" play is produced to turn our critical attention to the performance and to take the play's text for granted. This practice—evidence of a certain cultural laziness—is, to say the least, confusing. For how can we judge a performance except in relation to some concept of the play's meaning and style? Also, to be frank, the value of most revivals is not in the production but in the text.

I should be very angry with the Theatre Guild if I thought of its new *St. Joan* only in terms of production. But I was so glad to see the play again that I must declare myself grateful to the Guild for reviving it. The production is not so bad that one cannot think about Shaw's play.

Shaw has written wittier and theatrically more original plays than *St. Joan*, but none more Shavian in theme, scope and seriousness. The heart of Shaw is in *St. Joan*, and its body is one of the most stirring stories in history. Thus it is the greatest of all Shaw's plays, even though one is not sure that it is his best. The play is great in the sense that an essential concern of man is dramatized through material magnificent in itself.

The apostle of common sense tells us in *St. Joan* that what distinguishes man and gives him a kind of divinity is his conscience. The spirit within the individual—the inner voice that utters the most deeply felt human message regardless of self-interest and animal egotism, and thus extends man's being beyond himself to join with the same spirit in other men—is pitted in *St. Joan* against common logic, order and secular wisdom in a conflict that must be forever heroic and inevitably tragic. For human conscience cannot subside and temporal necessity will not abdicate until that point never yet reached when society will truly attempt to follow a Christlike design.

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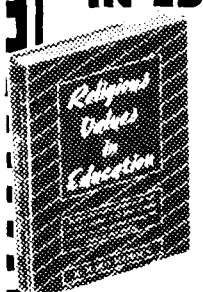

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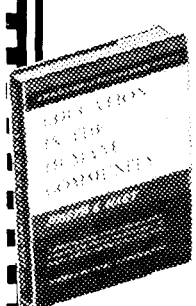

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of *St. Joan* requires for its complete articulation the loftiest and most impassioned poetic treatment. But Shaw, whose aspiration was constantly toward poetry, possessed a genius that was largely wed to the rational, even the shrewdly and cautiously rational. Through the urge of Shaw's honesty and clean-heartedness, *St. Joan* borders on the exalted. One might say that in it we see Shaw approaching mysticism by virtue of his reason. The play never really sings, though at several points it is on the verge of doing so; it never enters the altogether free realm of poetry, beyond argument, strict definition or proof. This is evident in the humorous, clever, yet almost tritely stagey way that Shaw establishes his premises, and in the failure of his writing in the climactic scenes to leap free of prosy impediment. Still the impulse is there, the noble will and the drive toward good—and we must reverently salute them.

The Guild's production might be praised for a certain modesty and scrupulous adherence to the letter of the text (like a child repeating the lesson of its master), but it is artistically characterless and visually wretched. It is literally without style, and the fact that it shows a perhaps laudable effort at economy is no excuse for the meanness of the impression it makes.

That fine actress Uta Hagen seems caught in the trap of the production's mediocrity. Her Joan has humility and sweetness, and moments of childlike tenderness or exasperated fervor that are affecting. Yet the performance as a whole lacks the completeness that might wholly convince. The simplicity of the early scenes lacks specific content, while the rising tide of emotion seems modern in the wrong way—sentimental—and somehow un-Shavian. For Shaw's Joan is not simple like a pure country maid or pathetic like a person caught in the grip of an intolerable local injustice. She is sharp, driving, intellectually incisive, dry as flame. Shaw's Joan has no flesh; her sobs and outcries are not feminine but *assumed* in the sharp declamation of the assault on her audience. Her simplicity is rugged and she is so vigorously right in her martyrdom that it hardly can be said to hurt. Her poetry has to have either a Gothic lift with glints of rude humor or a shiningly spare-limbed agility of body and mind.

Good things might be said of aspects of several other performances—those of Andrew Cruickshank (who looks and speaks well) as the Earl of Warwick, and John Buckmaster, whose Dauphin has a curious cockney wit—but in almost every case one is troubled by a sense that the play's direction has not integrated the performances into any binding conception. Every play on the stage, I endlessly repeat, must have its own quality of feeling, look, tone, taste and atmosphere which rises from a clear sense of what is individual and particular in the text or the director's understanding of it. For the director simply to understand that the dramatist's work is "great," and then to eliminate himself from any positive contribution to the theatrical collaboration so that he (or she) may serve merely as an adviser to sundry good actors, does not constitute sound theatre practice.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR

The Illiterates

WHAT TELEVISION needs is a writer. Everything else has been tried, from puppets to Toscanini, from gimmick artists to Broadway's best producers. And as the season goes its dismal way it becomes obvious that television's failure is colossal. Only the writer has not yet been given his chance.

I saw the other night—it was a Sunday at seven—what can be done by Bob Hope when he gives his writers a free hand. Hope was on NBC-TV's new *Sound Off Time* as the first of a galaxy of comedians, including Fred Allen and Jerry Lester, who'll do a rotation routine for Chesterfield cigarettes each week. I remember when Hope, at the height of his radio success, employed as many as eleven writers to keep his gag gun loaded. This time, he used only two. So help me, the program had a relaxed quality about it. A new Hope appeared. He did not conduct himself as though there were a direct, numerical ratio between the number of jokes and his Hooperating. He was even funny at times.

Everyone has known for quite a while that the writer is the forgotten man in television. Have you heard of TV's Norman Corwin or Arch Oboler? Have you noted any emphasis on video's Morton Wishengrad or Joseph Liss, Millard Lampell, Arnold Perl, Erik Barnouw, Norman Rosten? One of these fine radio writers, Liss, does a lot of television work. You might even catch sight of his name among the credits at the close of one of the better dramatic programs—if your eye reads with the speed of light. If the others are doing anything for TV, the secret is well kept. And the new men, and women?

Max Gordon, the Broadway producer, re-emphasized the need for television writers the other day. He even went out on a limb by asserting that *he* would rely on writers. Gordon, now a producer for CBS-TV, had been brought in with the idea that he would make the theatre's *Billy Budd* a vehicle for color television. But just about then CBS-TV also decided that this season, unlike last, it would not take Milton Berle's NBC-TV supremacy lying down. This year, instead of practically closing up shop at Tuesday night's peak time—eight to nine—by running films, CBS-TV would build a big show around Frank Sinatra. Gordon was given the Sinatra assignment. He stated his major guiding principle in an interview in the New York *Times* the Sunday before Sinatra hit the air. "The writer," said Gordon grandiloquently, "is the most important thing."

Now Gordon should know. When he did *Born Yesterday* for the stage, he had a play written by Garson Kanin. It took Sinclair Lewis and Sidney Howard to provide him with another of his hits, *Dodsworth*. *Junior Miss* grew into a comedy only because Jerome Chodorov and Joseph Fields applied writing skill and theatre experience to the vehicle before it was given to Gordon. But on television Gordon was given four men whose material he would never have thought of risking as an

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investment for the legitimate theatre. The result is that Berle is still "Mr. Television."

If Gordon wanted to do a straight musical show, he might have taken the trouble to look at TV's version of *Your Hit Parade*, which NBC-TV runs Saturday nights at 10:30. There is a lot of meaningless motion on that program, but it does provide music. The Sinatra thing—in spite of Sinatra's potentials as an actor—tried to go a half-dozen directions at once, and wound up nowhere.

Here is another illustration of the need for writers. Herb Shriner opened his new program (this trip on ABC-TV) the other Thursday night at nine. Now I don't know of a more ingratiating descendant of Will Rogers than Shriner of Indiana. He can shuffle through dozens of homespun stories in an easy, folksy manner. That's what he did on radio, with highly amusing results. But his sponsors for TV wouldn't let him keep the entire half-hour to himself. Instead, they got some soap-opera writers to do a "sketch." Shriner was himself only the first five or seven minutes of the program, when he was on "in one" and just talked. After that, he became a kind of *Our Town* narrator, commenting on the people involved in a mushy, hackneyed boy-girl story which lined up the daughter of the impoverished "first family," the son of the local banker, the spinster librarian, and, of course, the philosophic barber. Shriner himself could have told that story with humor in about two minutes. Instead, there were twenty minutes or so of banality done by an expensive cast. Shriner wasn't trusted to do his own writing.

It is not the money, either, that keeps television from hiring competent writers. There is plenty of loot to spend on almost anything. I'm afraid it is something much deeper: lack of respect for ideas. Not that some thinking doesn't go into television. Gordon, in his *Times* interview, said: "I'd like for you to mention the writers. . . . I give them an idea, and two days later they come up with a sketch." How about trying it the other way around? SAUL CARSON

(*Continued from page 25*)

on that basis would result in more even distribution, but because, with a more than $60 billion military-spending bill staring them in the face, there was no way to avoid it. Such vast expenditures will leave so little of the three materials not programmed in one way or another, that it would be useless to keep them on the open market for such a mass of purchasers.

This, by itself, will not assure small business of continued operation through the emergency. Nevertheless, it relieves one sore spot. Small businessmen could sleep a little more soundly, though, if they knew they would have a strong and effective supporter inside the mobilization set-up. They had such a supporter in World War II when former Representative Maury Maverick headed the Smaller War Plants Corporation. There is no true counterpart of that agency in the present mobilization picture. However, as a result of a vigorous fight by a handful of Senators and Representatives, small business will soon have a Small Defense Plants Administration. (An individual corporation, with sufficient power to do a real job for small business, was denied by the same group of men who killed a "closed-end" CMP from the start. Each of them opposed it in testimony on renewal of the Defense Production Act.)

The Small Defense Plants Administration was provided for in a judicious amendment to the Defense Production Act when it was renewed last August. Last month, President Truman nominated as chairman of that agency Telford W. Taylor, the prosecutor at the German war crimes trials. Taylor has no strong recommendations as a defender of the little fellow, but the feeling among small business defenders in the Senate is that he is "promising" and should have a chance at the job. Taylor may well profit from the experience of Maverick and the tactics he employed to do the job during World War II. If Taylor does this, he may prove effective to small business, despite the serious shortcomings of the Act setting up the Small Defense Plants Administration.

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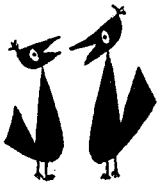

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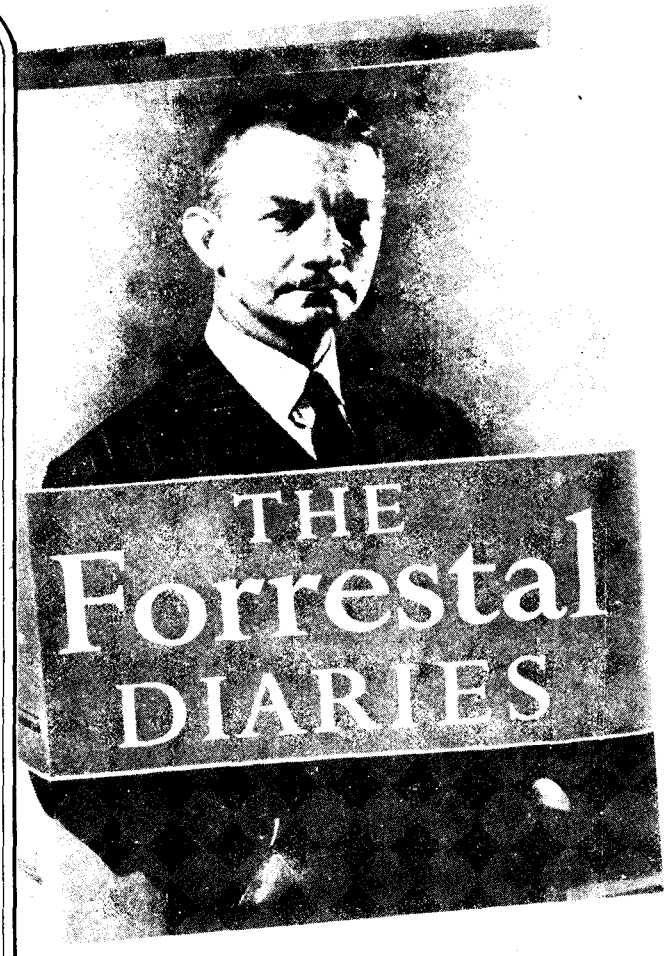

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